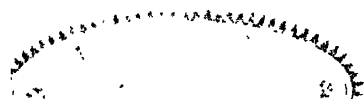


EMINENT PERSONS

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BIOGRAPHIES

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
LORD IDDESLEIGH	1
SIR JOSEPH WHITWORTH	10
LORD LYONS	17
SIR HENRY MAINE	24
THE EMPEROR WILLIAM	35
MATTHEW ARNOLD	87
THE EMPEROR FREDERICK III.	97
GENERAL SHERIDAN	117
MARSHAL BAZAINE	124
VISCOUNT EVERSLEY	129
MR. BRIGHT	138
LORD MALMESBURY	171
JEFFERSON DAVIS	181
ROBERT BROWNING	196
THE BISHOP OF DURHAM	203
DR.  LLLINGER	211
LORD  NAPIER OF MAGDALA	222
SIR WILLIAM GULL	233
LORD CARNARVON	236
SIR EDWIN CHADWICK	244

CONTENTS

	PAGE
CARDINAL NEWMAN	251
CANON LIDDON	277
PROFESSOR J. E. THOROLD ROGERS	288
SIR RICHARD BURTON	288
SIR BARNES PEACOCK	293
LORD COTTESLOE	297
MR. BARON HUDDLESTON	303
DEAN CHURCH	311
THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK	319

LORD IDDESLEIGH

OBITUARY NOTICE, THURSDAY, JANUARY 13, 1887

THE Earl of Idlesleigh, better known to his countrymen as Sir Stafford Henry Northcote, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and leader of the House of Commons in the second Administration of Mr. Disraeli, was born in London in 1818. He came of an ancient Devonshire family, his father being the eldest son of the seventh baronet, and his name having been well known and respected in the west of England for several generations. As an illustration of this we may recall a pleasant little episode of the debates in the House of Commons on the Redistribution of Seats Bill during the session of 1885. A question arose as to the name to be given to one of the Devonshire county divisions. Sir Stafford Northcote, at that time leader of the Opposition, pleaded successfully, and amid the general sympathy of the House, for the retention under the new system of the ancient name of a constituency which in former times was represented by an ancestor of his own.

Sir Stafford Northcote was educated at Eton, where he was among the pupils of a very well-known master—the Rev. Edward Coleridge. From Eton he went to Oxford and entered at Balliol. In Michaelmas Term 1839, when he was barely twenty-one years of age, he was placed by the examiners in the first class in Classics and the third class in Mathematics. Among his companions in the first class were Dr. Fraser, the late Bishop of Manchester, and Mr. Jowett, the present Master of Balliol, and late Vice-Chancellor of the University. Mf.

EMINENT PERSONS

Northcote, as he then was, came to London at once for the purpose of studying law, but it was some years before he was called to the Bar.

In 1841 a change of Ministry occurred, and Sir Robert Peel became Prime Minister, supported by the first Conservative majority which the constituencies had returned to the House of Commons since the Reform Act was passed in 1832. Mr. Gladstone accepted subordinate office as Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and two years afterwards he was promoted to the Presidency of the same department. He cast about for a competent private secretary, and consulted his friend Mr. Coleridge, of Eton, before making his choice. Mr. Coleridge mentioned three names, and from these Mr. Gladstone selected Mr. Stafford Northcote. Mr. Gladstone, as is well known, retired in 1845 from the Government of Sir Robert Peel, but we believe that before his retirement he procured the appointment of his private secretary to a permanent post in the Board of Trade.

However this may be, Mr. Northcote was called to the Bar in 1847, and in the same year he became Legal Secretary to the Board of Trade. Mr. Northcote's connection with the Board of Trade lasted for some years. When the Navigation Laws were under discussion he published an able pamphlet on the subject, which attracted much attention at the time, and had the credit of convincing no less a personage than the Duke of Wellington of the necessity and expediency of removing this the last vestige of the old Protective system.

In 1851 Mr. Northcote succeeded his grandfather in the baronetcy, which had belonged to his family for several generations, and in the same year he officiated as one of the secretaries of the great Exhibition. In this capacity he rendered signal assistance to the late Prince Consort, and his labours were so assiduous and exhausting that at the close of the Exhibition his health was seriously impaired. We believe that the cardiac weakness which has now proved suddenly fatal to the deceased statesman then first declared itself, and Sir Stafford Northcote, as he then was, withdrew for a time from his active official duties, and went with his family to reside in France in the hope of recovering his health. That hope was happily fulfilled. After a year's residence in Paris, Sir Stafford Northcote returned to England with his strength completely restored, and destined

LORD IDDESLEIGH

for more than thirty years to take an active and prominent part in the political life of his time. In the years 1853 and 1854 Sir Stafford Northcote was associated with the late Sir Charles Trevelyan in an important and, as the event showed, an epoch-making inquiry into the condition of the civil establishments of the Crown, and the Report presented by these Commissioners in 1854 eventually led to the establishment of the Civil Service Commission and to the throwing open of the Civil Service generally to public competition.

So far, Sir Stafford Northcote's life, though of political activity and influence, was dissociated from Parliamentary and party controversy, and devoted only to public objects irrespective of party. In financial and commercial matters he was always on the side of Free Trade, and his intervention in the controversy concerning the Navigation Laws was regarded with some surprise even by the Whigs. But in general politics Sir Stafford Northcote was a Conservative, though a Conservative without party acrimony and with strong Liberal instincts on many important points. He was not in Parliament when the Peelites joined the Government of Lord Aberdeen; possibly if he had been he would have been tempted to follow the fortunes of his first official chief.

He first entered the House of Commons in 1855 as the Conservative member for Dudley—a political connection which he was not the man to forget when, as Chancellor of the Exchequer in Mr. Disraeli's Government, he visited the Midlands and defended the policy of his colleagues in an elaborate series of speeches. He represented Dudley for two years, and from 1858 to 1866 he sat in the House of Commons as member for Stamford, his colleague during the whole of that time being the present Prime Minister, who sat for Stamford, first as Lord Robert Cecil, and afterwards as Lord Cranborne, from 1853 till 1868. In 1866 Sir Stafford Northcote first became a member for what may be called his native constituency of North Devon; he had unsuccessfully contested the seat in 1857, but when once the connection was established between the Devon constituency and the member who never forgot that he belonged in a special sense to the west of England, it remained unbroken until Sir Stafford Northcote was raised to the peerage as Earl of Idlesleigh in 1885.

When Sir Stafford Northcote entered Parliament in 1855

EMINENT PERSONS

the Government of Lord Palmerston was in office. It was displaced in 1858 by the second Government of Lord Derby, but Sir Stafford Northcote did not obtain office when his party first came into power. Sir Charles Trevelyan was permanent Secretary of the Treasury and Mr. G. A. Hamilton was Financial Secretary, Mr. Disraeli being Chancellor of the Exchequer. A change was soon made whereby Sir Stafford Northcote became, in a sense, Mr. Disraeli's lieutenant. Sir Charles Trevelyan was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Madras, Mr. Hamilton, the former Financial Secretary, became permanent Secretary to the Treasury, and Sir Stafford Northcote was appointed to the important Parliamentary post of Financial Secretary to the Treasury. He went out of office with his party in the summer of 1859, and when Lord Derby's third Administration was formed in 1866 he became President of the Board of Trade, an office which he exchanged in the following year for that of Secretary of State for India, vacated by the resignation of the present Prime Minister. Sir Stafford Northcote retained this office until the resignation of Mr. Disraeli—who succeeded Lord Derby as Prime Minister on the retirement of the latter—in 1868. He was by this time recognised as one of the leaders of the Conservative party, and though Mr. Disraeli's supremacy was undisputed and unrivalled, Sir Stafford Northcote was beginning to be regarded as one of his most efficient lieutenants.

The Conservative party was led by Mr. Disraeli during the first Administration of Mr. Gladstone from 1868 to 1874. In 1871 Sir Stafford Northcote was, by an adroit and far-sighted stroke of policy, nominated by Mr. Gladstone as one of the Special Commissioners for the negotiation of the Treaty of Washington, which had for its main object the final settlement of the Alabama Claims. This Treaty gave rise to a very active controversy in Parliament arising out of the advancement by the Government of the United States of what were termed indirect or consequential claims, and even when these claims were finally set aside, the award of the Geneva Commission appointed in pursuance of the Treaty was very warmly and not very favourably canvassed in this country.

It would seem that the Treaty of Washington—concluded by the Commission of which the Marquis of Ripon was chairman and Sir Stafford Northcote a member—was somewhat loosely

drawn, but it has always been suspected that the Government at home was quite as much responsible for its laxity and ambiguity of language as the Commissioners at Washington. At any rate the whole controversy is now closed with the best results to the friendly relations of this country with the United States, and it may be conjectured that the official association of Sir Stafford Northcote with the Treaty had a very considerable and in the result a very salutary effect in restraining the attacks of the Opposition on the Government which concluded it. Mr. Gladstone's Government suffered at the time, not perhaps undeservedly, but the end has been held in this case to justify the means, and the Washington Treaty finally closed a very troublesome and, indeed, a very dangerous dispute with the United States. In estimating its merits it has to be remembered that more than one Foreign Minister had previously tried, and tried in vain, to settle a controversy which threatened permanently to embitter the relations of two kindred countries.

When Mr. Gladstone resigned in 1874 and Mr. Disraeli returned once more to power, for the first time in his life at the head of a powerful and devoted majority, Sir Stafford Northcote was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. For this office he was peculiarly well qualified. He had entered public life as an official at the Board of Trade, Mr. Gladstone being his sponsor and Sir Robert Peel his official chief. His financial orthodoxy was thus doubly certified, and his acumen and attainments were attested by an important work which he published in 1862, entitled *Twenty Years of Financial Policy; a Summary of the Chief Financial Measures passed between 1842 and 1861, with a Table of Budgets*. In this work Sir Stafford Northcote had declared himself a disciple of that financial school which Sir Robert Peel had founded and Mr. Gladstone had fostered with such remarkable results.

At a much later date in his career Sir Stafford Northcote went so far, under the pressure of transient political exigencies, as to pronounce what is called "fair trade" to be a "pious opinion" not wholly inconsistent with financial orthodoxy; but as Chancellor of the Exchequer he gave no countenance to heresy. His financial policy at the Exchequer is remarkable for the final extinction of the sugar duties, counterbalanced by a slight increase in the tax on tobacco; for the temporary reduction of the income-tax to 2d. in the pound, the lowest

point at which it has stood since the tax was first imposed ; and for the establishment and maintenance of a really effective sinking fund, which has been maintained intact by his successors except when it was suspended for a short period in 1885, in order to meet a heavy, exceptional, and unexpected expenditure due to the exigencies of the Egyptian campaign and the imminence of a war with Russia in connection with the dispute over the Afghan frontier. Sir Stafford Northcote's finance was often attacked by Mr. Gladstone and other financial authorities, but on the whole he was held by competent and impartial authorities to have fairly held his own even against so redoubtable an antagonist. It should further be mentioned as an illustration of his financial ability and orthodoxy, that in the interval between Lord Derby's second and third Administrations, Sir Stafford Northcote had acted as Chairman of an important Parliamentary Committee on the Income-Tax, and that his report contributed largely to sustain that unpopular and unequal, but indispensable impost against the attacks of Mr. Hubbard and other financiers of the same school.

Mr. Disraeli became Lord Beaconsfield towards the close of the session of 1876. Thenceforth, and until the fall of the Conservative Government in 1880, Sir Stafford Northcote was leader of the House of Commons. There were some who thought that Lord Cranbrook, at that time Mr. Gathorne-Hardy, would have made a more vigorous and combative leader, but the wisdom of Lord Beaconsfield's choice was never seriously disputed during the lifetime of the Parliament of 1874.

Sir Stafford Northcote was not perhaps a very combative leader. He was mild in temperament, judicial in disposition, gentle in demeanour, courteous to opponents, slow to take offence, and slower still to give it. His leadership fell in very difficult and very critical times. It was his duty to defend the Eastern policy of the Government against a resolute and exasperated Opposition. He had to deal also with the first beginnings, or almost the first beginnings, of obstruction—a task for which, perhaps, his mild, gentle, and courteous disposition hardly fitted him. To write a history of his leadership we should need to write a history of the four eventful years from 1877 to 1880, including the Russo-Turkish War, the Berlin Treaty, the Zulu War, the Afghan War, and a long series of

critical events both at home and abroad, which few politicians or students of political history are likely to have forgotten.

Only on one occasion did Sir Stafford Northcote's invincible straightforwardness seem to have forsaken him. He was asked on the eve of the Easter recess in 1878, at a moment when rumours of war were rife, to give some explanation of the action and policy of the Government before Parliament separated. His answer was certainly evasive and gave no information of importance. The next day the country was startled by the announcement that orders had been given and arrangements made for the conveyance of a contingent of Indian troops to Malta. The incident was very unfavourably commented on at the time, especially by the opponents of the Government; but possibly, if all were known, it would be found that Sir Stafford Northcote's language was defensible on the ground that reticence was demanded by the exigencies of the public service. Those who best know the difficulty of conducting public affairs of moment in the presence of an inquisitive legislature and a hostile Opposition will not be hasty to condemn the conduct of Lord Beaconsfield's Chancellor of the Exchequer.

In 1880 Lord Beaconsfield dissolved Parliament and Mr. Gladstone returned to power. Sir Stafford Northcote's position was henceforth a very difficult one. The Liberal majority was triumphant and overwhelming. Its leader was the statesman under whose auspices Sir Stafford Northcote himself had first entered public life. In oratory he was no match for Mr. Gladstone, and his physical vigour was already seriously impaired by his incessant Parliamentary labours from 1877 to 1880. His difficulties, moreover, did not arise merely from the strength of his opponents. Among his own followers there were those who distrusted and derided his leadership. Only those, perhaps, who have led a discredited and dispirited Opposition can fully estimate his difficulties and are entitled to criticise his strategy.

It may, however, be admitted that Sir Stafford Northcote seemed never to forget that he had been Mr. Gladstone's private secretary, and the recollection weakened, if it did not paralyse, his powers of attack. At the best it was a case of *impar congressus Achilli*, and the contest was the more unequal because the leader of the Opposition had once played the part of Patroclus to the great Parliamentary warrior. There were

occasions, notably in the Bradlaugh dispute, when Sir Stafford Northcote did not make the best of his opportunities ; there were others, as frequently in the Egyptian debates, when he was distinctly unequal to the occasion. But the best general is, after all, he who wins the final victory, and it is not to be forgotten that Sir Stafford Northcote led and marshalled the majority which finally overthrew Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1885. By this time, and, indeed, ever since the death of Lord Beaconsfield, he had been universally recognised as joint leader, together with Lord Salisbury, of the Conservative party. It might, indeed, have been a question whether, on the fall of Mr. Gladstone, Sir Stafford Northcote or Lord Salisbury should be invited by the Queen to form a Conservative Government.

On the morrow of the sudden and melancholy death of an honourable and respected statesman, we have no mind to follow in detail the manoeuvres —or, as some might call them, the intrigues— which resulted in the deposition of Sir Stafford Northcote from the leadership of the House of Commons and his elevation as Earl of Iddesleigh to the House of Lords. The whole episode will be in the recollection of all our readers, and it forms no very creditable chapter in the recent history of the Conservative party. Lord Iddesleigh became First Lord of the Treasury in Lord Salisbury's first Government, and when, on the defeat of Mr. Gladstone at the last general election, Lord Salisbury again became Prime Minister, he was nominated to the important and highly responsible post of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. This appointment naturally caused some surprise, since it was manifest to all who saw him that Lord Iddesleigh's powers were failing. For a time, however, he discharged the duties of his laborious office with credit, industry, and discretion, being assisted in all the more important negotiations by the skill and experience of the Prime Minister in person. How the solidarity of the Government was impaired, and even its existence for a moment imperilled by the sudden resignation of Lord Randolph Churchill, and how, as the result of the changes which ensued, the Foreign Secretary was somewhat clumsily removed from his post, is matter of current history, on which at the present moment it is not altogether pleasant to dwell. Lord Iddesleigh's death may, perhaps, be held to show that there were reasons which justified his removal in the interests of the public service ; but it is difficult not to

think that a necessary duty might have been discharged with a more tender regard for a singularly sensitive, modest, and chivalrous nature.

After all, however, the late Foreign Secretary may be said to have been *felix opportunitate mortis*. He has been spared the mortification of realising the failure of his powers, and the loss of consideration among his colleagues and associates which that failure might have entailed. He has passed away suddenly and painlessly in the midst of universal respect. He has not, like Lord Grey and Lord Melbourne, been left to discover that his colleagues and successors thought him no longer fit for the active service of his country. His memory will survive as a man of great capacity well employed, of great opportunities patriotically used, of unfailing courtesy, of the most perfect temper, of rare self-sacrifice—in a word, of all those qualities which are combined in an English statesman who is also an English gentleman. In private life Lord Iddesleigh was one of the most genial and entertaining of companions. He was not perhaps a brilliant political speaker, though he occasionally told a racy story with rare felicity of application. But his *mitis sapientia*, his ample stores of felicitous anecdote, and his abundant humour, far more copious than his public utterances would indicate, made him one of the most charming of social companions. He belonged to a type of which modern political life does not furnish many examples. He once said of himself that he was deficient in “go.” Perhaps he was; but those who have abundance of “go” might often with the greatest advantage cultivate some of those rarer and gentler qualities of mind, heart, and temper, the stock of which in English public life has been sensibly diminished by the sudden removal of Lord Iddesleigh.

SIR JOSEPH WHITWORTH

OBITUARY NOTICE, MONDAY, JANUARY 24, 1887

WE regret to announce the death of Sir Joseph Whitworth. With him disappears the greatest name of our time in mechanical engineering—a person of remarkable individuality, and one whose efforts have left a permanent impress upon the workshops, not only of this country, but of the whole civilised world. His biography is highly instructive. He was born at Stockport on the 21st of December 1803, and received the first part of his scanty education at a school kept there by his father. At twelve he was removed to Mr. Vint's academy at Idle, near Leeds, where he remained for another year and a half; but at fourteen we find him placed with his uncle, a cotton spinner in Derbyshire—his school days over and the business of life begun. During the six years spent here he taught himself to work all the machines used in the factory, of which, though so young, he became practically the manager. His uncle so highly appreciated his usefulness that he wished him to stay, but young Whitworth felt that there was nothing to learn there, and, knowing that he could not escape in any other fashion, he ran away to Manchester. Here for four more years, at the works of Messrs. Crompton and elsewhere, he acquired a practical knowledge of the manufacture of cotton machinery, and he also developed those habits of persevering industry and frugal self-denial which in after years made his character so peculiar and interesting a study.

At that time the application of steam-power to the processes of the Lancashire mills was in its infancy, and a special need existed for good tools to assist in the change. But Whitworth,

though he saw the want and the great opportunity it presented, was determined not to enter on the field without the fullest preparation. Therefore he resolved to go to London and gain what experience he could in the best workshops of the metropolis. He went, of course, to Maudslay's, and his superior skill being at once manifest, he was taken into Mr. Maudslay's own private workroom and placed next to his best workman, one Hampson. After the day's labour was over he had always employment at home, and it was in this way that he completed the true plane, exhibiting it one night with pride to Hampson, whose sole comment was "You've done it." From Maudslay's, Whitworth went to Holtzapffel's and then to Clements', where Mr. Babbage's celebrated calculating machine was on hand at the time. Upon this machine Whitworth worked, being paid for what he did by the hour. He always maintained that the calculating machine would have worked perfectly had it been proceeded with, and recent remarkable progress in the direction of mechanical calculators tends to confirm his opinion.

In 1833, when he was thirty, having acquired all the experience attainable in the best machine shops of London, having completed the true plane himself, and having been taught by Clements how to make a true screw, Mr. Whitworth commenced business on his own account in Manchester as a manufacturer of engineers' tools— "Manchester tools," as they then began to be called. Bear in mind what was then the state of things in all the machine shops of the country, but especially of Lancashire—nothing done to systematise, no standards of reference, no exactitude. It was requisite to establish the primary conditions of orderly production, if fearful sources of waste and terrible expenditure in repairs were to be avoided. At the root of order and method lay the true plane and the power of refined measurement, which truth of surface and the true screw now placed within reach of the mechanician. Whitworth's standard gauges, his taps and dies, his uniform system of screw-threads, his great refinements in the manufacture of lathes, planing-machines, drills, etc., all became available at the moment when they had become indispensable, if chaos was to be avoided in our machine shops, and if the imperative demands for mechanical appliances in every direction were to be worthily met. The forward industrial movement of the century was upon us in full swing, and it had to be met

somehow, if railways, and steamships, and steam-navvies, and the other vast developments of modern invention were to have any reasonable chance of establishing themselves. From 1833 to 1851 Mr. Whitworth worked steadily in this direction, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left, but content to appear in the great Exhibition at Hyde Park as a maker of engineers' tools, and showing as his best credentials in that respect the true plane and the measuring-machine indicating to the millionth of an inch. The world was astonished by such a revelation of accuracy and refined workmanship, and soon after events occurred which strikingly enforced the lessons thus taught.

The Crimean War began, and Sir Charles Napier demanded of the Admiralty 120 gunboats, each with engines of 60 horse-power, for the campaign of 1855 in the Baltic. There were just ninety days in which to meet this requisition, and, short as the time was, the building of the gunboats presented no difficulty. It was otherwise, however, with the engines, and the Admiralty were in despair. Suddenly, by a flash of the mechanical genius which was inherent in him, the late Mr. John Penn solved the difficulty, and solved it quite easily. He had a pair of engines on hand of the exact size. He took them to pieces and he distributed the parts among the best machine shops in the country, telling each to make ninety sets exactly in all respects to sample. The orders were executed with unfailing regularity, and he actually completed ninety sets of engines of 60 horse-power in ninety days—a feat which made the great Continental Powers stare with wonder, and which was possible only because the Whitworth standards of measurement and of accuracy and finish were by that time thoroughly recognised and established throughout the country. Nor was this the only illustration which the Crimean War supplied in this matter. A steam fleet was then for the first time attended by a steamship fitted up for making such repairs as could be effected promptly at sea after an action. Such an arrangement would have been useless to attempt before Whitworth had established order and system in mechanical engineering.

In 1853 Mr. Whitworth went to America as one of the Royal Commissioners to the New York Exhibition, and in that capacity he drew up a special report on American manufacturing industry, which attracted much attention at the time, and

which the lapse of more than thirty years, with their great relative changes, leaves still invested with considerable interest. For example, it was then firmly believed that the relations between capital and labour had received a final and complete solution in the United States; but, whatever Americans themselves may think, that is not the opinion of other civilised countries now. On his return home Mr. Whitworth, under the influence of the first Lord Hardinge, began to study the principles of construction underlying the manufacture of rifles and rifled artillery. So eager was the War Office of that day to avail itself of this experience that a shooting gallery 500 yards long was actually erected at its expense in Mr. Whitworth's private grounds at Rusholme, near Manchester, in order that he might make the requisite experiments under favourable conditions, and without interruption.

The "Woolwich Ring" had not then come into existence, or, at least, if it did exist, had not established its ascendancy at headquarters in Pall Mall. The investigations conducted by Mr. Whitworth in his new shooting gallery were of the utmost importance and interest. In fact, the conclusions arrived at have worked a complete revolution in the manufacture of arms of precision, and all modern rifles, whatever name they may bear, are substantially founded on Mr. Whitworth's demonstration that an elongated projectile (from three to five diameters), with a rapid rotation and a quick uniform rifling pitch of polygonal form, lay at the root of the whole matter. This was true, not only for small arms, but, with modifications, for all sizes of ordnance. Let any one interested in this subject, and with a candid mind, go to 24 Great George Street and study the diagrams, suspended there as in a museum, of results obtained by Mr. Whitworth in his shooting gallery experiments. The collection of objects is not more interesting for its practical value than as a striking indication of the manner in which a mind of the highest inventive order works towards its objects. The patience, the step by step progress of investigation, the certainty with which conclusions once fairly reached are grasped—finally, the systematic and orderly form in which all truth, but mechanical truth especially, tends to arrange itself—all these things are particularly manifest.

Mr. Whitworth had not been long committed to the inquiry as to the principles upon which the manufacture of rifled small

arms and ordnance should be conducted before he found himself more or less arrested by the subject of material. He knew that the best material (mild steel), even if it could be had in the most perfect condition, was hardly good enough for the work to be performed. Mild steel, however, from its very nature, was specially unreliable. The quality which gave it toughness and ductility tended, in cooling from the molten state, to imprison the escaping gases and cause unsoundness. This unsoundness might remain latent until a strain came on the defective spot, and then there might be a catastrophe as in the case of the "Thunderer" big gun and others. Mr. Whitworth set himself resolutely to grapple with this difficulty. It had existed for years, and its evils were widely recognised. More especially had it become urgent to find a solution since the introduction first of the grand Bessemer, and subsequently of the not less valuable Siemens-Martin processes. He used for his purpose great hydraulic presses with which to squeeze the molten metal in the act of cooling, thus driving the particles into closer contact and liberating the gases. It is a wonderful sight to see these presses in operation and to watch the results. A commission of inquiry into the methods of heavy ordnance manufacture abroad appointed quite recently by the United States, after witnessing this process at the very close of its investigation, declared it to be "a complete revelation." Yet Woolwich saw it in vain for years, and it was only when the Admiralty on one side and Elswick on the other practically recognised that Whitworth metal had the exceptional qualities of strength, ductility, and soundness claimed for it that they have at last begun to use it.

Of the tests to which Whitworth rifles were subjected at Hythe and Wimbledon, and which Whitworth guns had to sustain at Shoeburyness and in other places before the Armstrong and Whitworth Committee and other judges, we cannot treat worthily within the limits of an obituary notice. Suffice it to say, that the Queen opened the first Wimbledon meeting on 2nd July 1860 by firing from a mechanical rest a Whitworth rifle, at a range of 400 yards, and hitting the target within an inch and a quarter of the centre of the bull's-eye. In 1858 from the "Stork" gunboat Mr. Whitworth at 450 yards first completely penetrated a 4-inch armour plate fixed to the side of Her Majesty's ship "Alfred." In 1862 he sent a flat-

fronted steel shell through a target of $4\frac{1}{2}$ -inch plating, backed with 18 inches of teak, representing the side of the "Warrior." he was also the first to demonstrate the possibility of exploding armour shells without using any kind of fuse, and his experiments with flat-headed shot to avoid ricochet and penetrate armour obliquely and ships under the water-line still remain, after the lapse of nearly a quarter of a century, to have their undoubted practical value fully recognised by Woolwich.

In 1857 Mr. Whitworth was made a Fellow of the Royal Society, LL.D. of Trinity College, Dublin, and D.C.L. of Oxford University. At the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867 he took for his fine collection of engineers' tools and rifled ordnance and projectiles one of the five "Grands Prix" allotted to England, and during the visit of the late Emperor of the French to the camp at Chalons in September 1868 he was so pleased with one of the Whitworth field-guns tried there that he conferred upon the inventor the distinction of the Legion of Honour. The Albert Gold Medal was also awarded to Mr. Whitworth by the Council of the Society of Arts "for the invention and manufacture of instruments of measurement and uniform standards, by which the production of machinery has been brought to a degree of perfection hitherto unapproached." When it is borne in mind that among the recipients of this honour since deceased are the names of Professor Faraday, Sir Charles Wheatstone, and Sir Rowland Hill, its value will be the more fully appreciated.

In 1869 Mr. Whitworth was created a baronet, in conjunction with his distinguished contemporary Sir William Fairbairn. Early in that year he had founded and endowed the Whitworth scholarships, assigning for the purpose £3000 a year in perpetuity, or the interest on a capital sum of £100,000. The fund was vested in the Lord President of the Privy Council or other Minister of public instruction for the time being, and its administration, now reaching over a period of nearly twenty years, has been highly satisfactory and successful. Sir Joseph Whitworth's object, as he expressed it to Mr. Disraeli in the letter announcing his intention, was to promote the mechanical and engineering industry of the country by a system of scholarships—the prizes of competition accessible on fairly equal terms to the student who combined some practice with his theory, and to the intelligent artisan who united some theoretical

knowledge with perfection of workmanship. It will be readily understood how eagerly this distinction is now sought for by the young *élite* of the busy machine shops throughout the country, so that to them a Whitworth scholarship has become very much what the V.C. is to the soldier.

Munificent endowment to take effect after death is common enough, and, perhaps justly, does not excite any superfluous emotion of gratitude; but for a man who has worked strenuously to make his fortune, and, knowing its full value, is fond of money, to part with it in his lifetime for the promotion of great public objects—that is a sacrifice which speaks for itself, and cannot in this intensely self-seeking age be too highly commended for imitation. Besides what this noble endowment reveals him to have been in character, Sir Joseph Whitworth was fond of landscape gardening, and finding a great stone quarry on his property in Darley Dale, Derbyshire, he converted it into a very remarkable and highly picturesque rock garden, making the quarry furnish the cost of the transformation. Sir Joseph Whitworth was also fond of trotting horses, and his mare Kate had a wide reputation in and round Manchester. Altogether his was a character as strongly marked as can well be imagined, and proving what possibilities of achievement lie within the reach of any lad in this country who will cultivate assiduously his opportunities in life, and has the genius and the self-restraint indispensable for success.

LORD LYONS

OBITUARY NOTICE, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1887

WE regret to announce the fatal termination of Lord Lyons' brief illness. Only a week ago, while staying at Norfolk House, he was stricken with paralysis, and it was at once perceived that he had little chance of recovery. It was reported a few days ago that Lord Lyons had been received into the Roman Catholic Church. We have received the following statement as to the circumstances attending this event: "He spoke about the change of his religion six weeks ago. Since then, and even before he went regularly to attend daily mass, he was engaged in serious religious studies. He intended, as soon as he felt he was prepared, to be received into the Church of Rome, but up to the time of his illness, which occurred on Monday, 28th November, he had not taken the final step. After his seizure it is extremely doubtful to what extent he retained consciousness; but the Bishop of Southwark (Dr. Butt), with whom for some time he had had consultations, felt so convinced of his disposition and intention, that he received him into the Church and administered to him extreme unction."

This distinguished diplomatist, Richard Bickerton Pemell, second Baron and first Viscount and Earl Lyons, came of an old family originally settled in Antigua, and united by marriage with one of the best families in the United States. Henry Lyons, of Antigua, and some time of Philadelphia, married a daughter of Samuel Winthrop, grandson of John Winthrop, first Governor of Massachusetts. His descendant Edmund, the first Baron Lyons, was born at Burton, in Hampshire (England), 21st November 1790. He early entered upon a naval career,

and after seeing a quarter of a century of active service, in 1827 he was appointed to the "Blonde," with which he took part in blockading Navarino. The "Blonde" was the first English man-of-war that ever entered the Black Sea. On the formation of the independent kingdom of Greece, Admiral Lyons was commissioned to convey King Otho and his suite to Athens. He was knighted and appointed British Minister to the new Court, where he resided for fourteen years. In February 1849 he became British Minister at Berne, and in 1851 was transferred to Stockholm. When the Crimean War broke out, Admiral Lyons was appointed second in command of the Black Sea fleet, and on the retirement of Admiral Dundas in December 1854 he succeeded to the chief command. He performed many brilliant naval services, and during the siege of Sebastopol, whenever opportunity was afforded, he constantly traversed the lines in front of the fortress, participating also in the military operations. When he returned to England he was the recipient of numerous honours and ovations, and on 23rd June 1856 he was called to the House of Lords as Baron Lyons of Christchurch.

Admiral Lord Lyons married Augusta Louisa, daughter of Captain Josias Rodgers, R.N., and by her he had issue two sons and two daughters. The elder son was the peer now deceased. The second son, Captain Edmund Mowbray Lyons, R.N., who was unmarried, highly distinguished himself in the Crimea, and was killed in action in 1855. The Admiral's elder daughter, Anne Theresa Bickerton Lyons, married the Baron Von Wurtzburg, of Bavaria, and the younger espoused the fourteenth Duke of Norfolk. The former lady still survives, but the (Dowager) Duchess of Norfolk died in 1886.

Earl Lyons, whose death we now record, was born at Lymington on 26th April 1817. He was educated at Winchester and at Christchurch, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1838 and M.A. in 1843. At twenty-two years of age he entered the diplomatic service, being appointed unpaid Attaché at Athens; in October 1844 he became paid Attaché at that place, where he remained until 1852. He was then transferred to Dresden, and in 1853 went thence to Florence. In 1856 he was appointed Secretary of Legation at Florence, and advanced to the rank of Envoy in 1858. In the latter year he succeeded his father in the barony and the baronetcy.

Lord Lyons was soon to find his skill as a diplomatist put

to a severe test, for in December 1858 he was sent out to Washington as British Representative to the United States. In little more than two years after his arrival there, the great American Civil War broke out. Lord Lyons had a very difficult part to play. He was instructed in the outset to give no advice, unless requested to do so by the contending parties, but at the same time he was to express on every fitting occasion the earnest desire entertained by Her Majesty's Government that the differences between the North and South might be peacefully adjusted.

The affair of the British mail steamer "Trent," with the seizure of the Confederate Commissioners, Messrs. Slidell and Mason, in November 1861, nearly led to a rupture between England and the United States. It became Lord Lyons' duty to consider whether he should at once demand the release of the prisoners, or await instructions from his chief. He chose the latter course, not one word on the subject passing between him and Mr. Seward till the arrival of despatches from Lord Russell. Lord Russell instructed Lord Lyons to demand the release of the Commissioners with a suitable apology. Mr. Seward, on behalf of the American Government, claimed that Messrs. Slidell and Mason were contraband of war; but this was strenuously denied by Lords Russell and Lyons, and the note of the British Government was supported by communications from France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Italy. Lord Lyons waited upon Mr. Seward, and informed him that he had received instructions to leave Washington in seven days unless the British demands were complied with. Eventually, and after a lengthy diplomatic correspondence, the basis of a settlement was arrived at, and the American Government stated that the friendly spirit and the discretion which Lord Lyons had manifested in the whole matter, from the day on which the intelligence of the seizure reached Washington, had more than anything else contributed to the satisfactory settlement of the question. The affair of the "Trent" was the last public matter which engaged the attention of the Prince Consort; and the great anxiety he felt in regard to it rendered him the less able to battle with the disease which had already seized upon him, and which resulted in his premature and universally lamented death.

Lord Lyons conducted an intricate correspondence with the

American Minister and with Earl Russell on the subject of the Declaration of Paris, and on the question of the blockade of the Southern ports. Also, on the 7th of April 1862, he concluded at Washington, on behalf of Her Majesty, a treaty with the United States for the suppression of the slave trade. The treaty, which gave extensive rights of search to the cruisers of both nations, was hailed with satisfaction in this country. During the progress of the war Lord Lyons was further engaged in important correspondence with the Home Government upon such questions as the proposed recognition of the Southern Confederacy, President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, the case of the Alabama, and other matters.

The anxieties of the period during which his lordship represented Great Britain at Washington told severely upon his health. On personal grounds he would have desired an earlier relief from the excessive strain, but he could not be spared. However, in February 1865, Lord Lyons resigned his position as Envoy Extraordinary to the United States, and was succeeded by Sir F. A. Bruce. Taking only a few months' rest from the public service, in the following August his lordship was appointed Ambassador at Constantinople. He remained in the Turkish capital for barely two years, and was then transferred to Paris, taking up his abode as British Minister at the French Court in July 1867.

Lord Lyons succeeded a very capable diplomatist, Earl Cowley, but he was not long before he justified his appointment to this onerous post. His tact and urbanity made him a successful Minister, and one whose advice was frequently solicited and acted upon by the Emperor Napoleon. He was unable, however, to stem the tide of martial aggressiveness which burst all bounds in 1870, and plunged France into her most disastrous conflict with Germany. Lord Lyons had repeated interviews with the Duc de Grammont on the candidature of the Prince of Hohenzollern for the Spanish throne, the immediate and ostensible cause of the war. He declined, however, to pledge the good offices of England to bring pressure to bear upon the King of Prussia on the question of expressly forbidding the Hohenzollern candidature, though he stated that Her Majesty's Government were most anxious to effect a reconciliation between France and Prussia.

A final effort was made by England to avert war, but in

vain. Then the conflict burst forth in all its fury. France was humbled at the feet of Prussia, and after a series of overwhelming disasters the Emperor Napoleon surrendered at Sedan. The French Republic was proclaimed, and the war still proceeded. The Germans marched upon Paris, but before the investment of the city began Lord Lyons sent a letter by Mr. (now Sir Edward) Malet, Secretary to the British Embassy in Paris, asking whether Count Bismarck would confer with M. Jules Favre on the conditions of an armistice. Lord Lyons could not have employed a better intermediary, and Count Bismarck consented to an interview. In the end, nevertheless, M. Favre returned to Paris dispirited, and the German conditions were rejected by the Government of National Defence.

Paris was soon surrounded by German soldiers, and the siege began. All the foreign Ambassadors left the capital, with the exception of Mr. Washburne, Minister of the United States. In the English Parliament certain animadversions were made upon Lord Lyons regarding the manner of his withdrawal from Paris. His lordship departed for Tours with a section of the Provisional Government, which England, together with several other Powers, had already recognised as the *de facto* Government of France. Subsequently defending himself for this step in a letter to Lord Granville, Lord Lyons said he conceived it to be his duty at the time neither to reject the advice of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs nor to separate himself from his principal colleagues. He considered that it would be on all accounts inexpedient to allow himself to be shut up in Paris and to be deprived of all speedy and satisfactory means of communicating with the English Foreign Office. His lordship, as a matter of fact, had no sooner left Paris than all communication by road with the city was intercepted, and the last telegraphic wire was cut. The minor diplomatists who were left with Mr. Washburne in the besieged city were refused by the German authorities all facilities for corresponding with their Governments otherwise than by open letters. Lord Lyons accompanied the delegation of the Government first to Tours and subsequently to Bordeaux, and his action was accepted by the French as conclusive proof of the desire of Her Majesty's Government to maintain intimate and friendly relations with them, while his doing so ensured the most effectual means of maintaining communications with London. It will readily be

admitted that all through the critical period of the Franco-German war he acted with great discretion and resolution.

In 1873 Lord Lyons concluded negotiations with the French Government for the renewal of the Commercial Treaty which the Emperor Napoleon had made with England in 1860, but which M. Thiers had superseded by a Convention more in conformity with his own Protectionist predilections. It was agreed to maintain the system in force before the fall of the Empire until the end of the year 1876. When Queen Victoria visited the Continent in 1876 Lord Lyons had the honour of receiving Her Majesty at La Villette, and introduced to her the French President, Marshal MacMahon. His lordship continued to hold the appointment of Ambassador at Paris until November of the present year, when he resigned and was succeeded by the Earl of Lytton. It is understood that Lord Lyons was offered the Secretaryship of Foreign Affairs by Lord Salisbury in 1886.

When his retirement was announced five weeks ago, our Paris correspondent sent us the following estimate of his character and abilities :

“England has probably few diplomatists capable of treating an affair with more correctness and precision. He was incapable of going beyond the intentions of his Government, or of committing a blunder which his chiefs would have to repair. His capacity for work even to the last was striking, and no matter entrusted to him, whatever the effort it required, ever suffered an hour's delay. He was discretion itself. But if he said nothing of what he knew, he was honest enough not merely to say nothing contrary to what he knew, but to tell you if you were on a false tack.

“He was always unostentatious and affable, and there was not, I think, any great variety in his methods of approaching men and negotiating with them. He never took anybody by surprise, but it was useless to try and surprise him. Affairs capable of solution he always arranged ; affairs difficult to solve he left, without further involving them. But he rarely settled them ; for he never had one of those sudden inspirations which frequently change the fate of battles. He was a methodical diplomatist in his negotiations, in his mode of life, in his lists of visitors and invitations ; and he might on New Year's Day have almost decided as to the employment of his time for all the ensuing year. Into this symmetrical life the unforeseen

entered with difficulty, and he returned to his beaten track as soon as the incident which had drawn him from it was set aside or arranged. It was never he who embroiled France with England; but he lacked the qualities necessary for bringing them together again.

"He was entirely unknown outside diplomatic circles, and the crowd, on seeing a man with a slight stoop looking vaguely before him, buried in the corner of a modest but well-appointed carriage, awkwardly lifting his hat when his saluter was already at a distance, with every feature indicating desire for rest and quiet, could little suspect that he was the Ambassador of the most aristocratic of Republics.

"He had the prestige which still environs stately envoys who, under impassive countenances, conceal the confidences of foreign rulers; especially when, as in his case, their lives furnish a pattern of honour and self-respect. But he was not popular, and had neither the wish nor the ability to become popular. In a country where the street resembles a forum, in a nation where everybody is ready to talk at any hour of the day or night, and where an interested air will attract confidences, in a society quite ready to be convinced, if the trouble of convincing be taken, a country where a diplomatist should quit his desk and mix in the world in order to combat a fallacy or a prejudice, to smooth ruffled susceptibilities or irritated interests, Lord Lyons watched the stir around him with an indifference, not of disdain, but of temperament; and could never see that account had to be taken of human stupidity, which ends by enacting laws and dictating orders. He represented, indeed, in the fullest sense of the word the island which knows itself to be respected and safe from dreams of conquest, with resources enough at home to enable it to care little what is granted or refused it abroad."

Lord Lyons was made a K.C.B. in 1860, was advanced to the rank of G.C.B. in 1862, and was sworn a member of the Privy Council on 9th March 1865. At the Oxford Commemoration in June 1865 he received the honorary degree of D.C.L. In November 1881 he was created Viscount Lyons, of Christchurch, in the county of Southampton, and on his resignation this autumn he was advanced to an earldom.

SIR HENRY MAINE

OBITUARY NOTICE, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1888

HENRY JAMES SUMNER MAINE was born in 1822, and was the son of Dr. James Maine, a medical man who resided, we believe, in Oxfordshire. He was educated at Christ's Hospital, and went in due course to Pembroke College, Cambridge. His University career was exceptionally brilliant. In 1842 he carried off the Browne's medal for a Greek ode, the Camden medal, and the Chancellor's medal for English verse. Next year he was elected Craven Scholar, and obtained the Browne's medal for a Latin ode and epigrams. He took his degree in 1844, being Senior Classic, Senior Chancellor's Classical Medallist, and Senior Optime in Mathematics. He obtained no Fellowship at his own College, there being no vacancy at the time, but he was speedily invited to become Tutor of Trinity Hall, the college of which he was afterwards elected Master. He held his Tutorship for two years, and in 1847, at the unusually early age of twenty-five, he was appointed Regius Professor of Civil Law. He held this office until 1854, when he relinquished it, in order to undertake the post of Reader in Jurisprudence at the Middle Temple. He had been called to the Bar in 1850, being a member both of Lincoln's Inn and of the Middle Temple. He was elected a Benchet of the latter Inn in 1873.

The years between 1847 and 1861 were devoted by Sir Henry Maine to study and teaching in connection with those departments of law and the history of institutions which are now inseparably associated with his name and fame. With one exception, it was not until the latter year that the results of his

studies were given to the world in any more permanent form than the lectures which he delivered as Professor at Cambridge or Reader at the Middle Temple. The exception is significant of the drift his studies were taking. In 1856 he contributed to the *Cambridge Essays* an essay on "Roman Law and Legal Education." But his rare literary gifts were not entirely unemployed. Like so many of his contemporaries since distinguished in various departments of literature, such as Mr. Justice Stephen, his lifelong friend, Mr. Goldwin Smith, Professor Freeman, the late Rector of Lincoln, and others, he became a frequent contributor to periodical literature and journalism, his relations with which, indeed, were never entirely severed. His last work, *Popular Government*, originally appeared in the form of articles contributed to the *Quarterly Review*, and the readers of the *Times* have not unfrequently been delighted by essays from his pen on topics of current interest and reviews of books dealing with subjects in which he was specially interested.

It was not, however, until after 1861, when Sir Henry Maine's first important work on *Ancient Law* was published, that his rare gifts and attainments began to be discerned and appreciated by the general world of letters. His reputation was established at a single stroke. *Ancient Law* was, in the strictest sense of the word, an epoch-making book, and it appeared at a fortunate moment. The *Origin of Species* had been published some fifteen months earlier, and, widely different as are the scope and subject matter of the two works, there is more than a chronological connection between them. The pregnant conception of evolution is the link that binds them together. The *Origin of Species* applies this conception to the phenomena of biology. *Ancient Law* applies it to the phenomena of law and society. Both works are signal illustrations of that great movement of modern thought which has made evolution the key of science and the comparative method the key of history.

Maine was not, of course, as great an originator as Darwin. His name is not indissolubly linked, like Darwin's, with a great luminous conception which has revolutionised a whole department of thought and inquiry. He was preceded in the application of the comparative method to jurisprudence by the great school of German jurists who acknowledge Savigny as

their chief. But in England he was a pioneer. His first work, *Ancient Law: its Connection with the Early History of Society and its Relation to Modern Ideas*, broke what was entirely new ground to Englishmen in the study of jurisprudence. It exhibited a method which has since become the common instrument of students in the same regions of inquiry, and its effect was all the greater because this method was employed with a dexterity of manipulation and a felicity of literary presentation which have rarely been surpassed. The style was so lucid, the reasoning was so clear and cogent, the illustrative matter was so aptly chosen, the analogies were so dexterously handled, the survey was so broad, the grasp of principles was so firm, the whole fabric of the argument was articulated in so masterly a fashion, that the reader was easily tempted to suppose that *Ancient Law* must have been as easy to write as it was fascinating to read.

Such a conclusion, however, was purely the creation of Maine's unique literary method. He was not a rapid worker, and he was utterly disdainful of display. There are some writers whose books resemble a building from which the scaffolding has never been removed. The solid fabric is there; but it is encumbered with all the mechanism of construction. Maine's method was not less conscientious, nor were his structures less solid, but as soon as his work was complete the scaffolding was all swept away, and the finished structure alone was left. Maine, in fact, combined the characteristics of a profound student and a consummate literary artist. He bore his learning lightly, but it was a burden such as few men could have borne.

The effect of the publication of *Ancient Law* was profound. It was at once recognised that a new and brilliant luminary had arisen on the horizon of English letters, and that the light shed by it was as penetrating as it was novel. Maine had created in England a new method for the study of legal ideas and the political institutions founded on them, and, though many have since applied this method with great skill and success, he has remained to the last its unrivalled master and exponent. We cannot better describe this method than by borrowing Sir Henry Maine's own account of it from his first lecture on "Village Communities in the East and West"

"I think I may venture to affirm that the comparative

method, which has already been fruitful of such wonderful results, is not distinguishable in some of its applications from the historical method. We take a number of contemporary facts, ideas, and customs, and we infer the past form of those facts, ideas, and customs not only from historical records of that past form, but from examples of it which have not yet died out of the world, and are still to be found in it. When in truth we have to some extent succeeded in freeing ourselves from that limited conception of the world and mankind, beyond which the most civilised societies and (I will add) some of the greatest thinkers do not always rise; when we gain something like an adequate idea of the vastness and variety of the phenomena of human society; when in particular we have learned not to exclude from our view of earth and man those great and unexplored regions which we vaguely term the East, we find it to be not wholly a conceit or a paradox to say that the distinction between the present and the past disappears. Sometimes the past is the present; much more often it is removed from it by varying distances, which, however, cannot be estimated or expressed chronologically. Direct observation comes then to the aid of historical inquiry, and historical inquiry to the help of direct observation. The characteristic difficulty of the historian is that recorded evidence, however sagaciously it may be examined and re-examined, can very rarely be added to; the characteristic error of the direct observer of unfamiliar social or juridical phenomena is to compare them too hastily with familiar phenomena apparently of the same kind. But the best contemporary historians, both of England and of Germany, are evidently striving to increase their resources through the agency of the comparative method, and nobody can have been long in the East without perceiving and regretting that a great many conclusions founded on patient personal study of Oriental usage and ideas are vitiated through the observer's want of acquaintance with some elementary facts of Western legal history."

In 1862, a year after the publication of *Ancient Law*, Mr. Maine was appointed Legal Member of the Governor-General's Council, an office rendered illustrious not merely by its intrinsic importance, but by its connection with the name of Macaulay and his many distinguished successors. To no man of his time could the appointment have been more congenial than to Maine.

With his profound knowledge of law, there was associated an intellect of exceptional force and rare cultivation, specially versed in the comparative study of institutions, and, as his colleagues in the Government of India were soon to discover, an aptitude and capacity for affairs which might have placed him in the foremost rank of statesmen if he had not preferred to remain a student. His service in India coincided mainly with the viceroyalty of Lord Lawrence, who succeeded Lord Elgin, and was succeeded by Lord Mayo, and it was again a happy concurrence of circumstances which placed his legal acquirements and the aptitudes generated by his special studies at the service of the State in the carrying out of those reforms in the land-tenures of India which are associated with the name of Lord Lawrence.

Of his services in India it is not necessary here to speak at length; the recital would hardly be appreciated by any but experts in Indian politics and history. His services to India were happily not concluded when his appointment came to an end. They are, indeed, though necessarily little known to the public, the great achievement and the permanent record of his life, even more, perhaps, than the admirable series of works which has won for him a high place among the leaders of contemporary English literature. He was appointed a member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India in 1871, and from that time till he left England a few weeks ago he has served his country as one of its most trusted counsellors in difficult and critical affairs. He was not fond of official drudgery, and perhaps he did less of routine work than some of his colleagues. By superficial observers he was often thought to be somewhat indolent; but real indolence was impossible to a man of his active mind, his sustained interest in affairs of moment, and his truly statesmanlike grasp of their bearings and issues. Such a man is better employed in reserving his judgment for matters worthy of its exercise than in carrying on the mere routine of public business.

Whenever Maine took up a subject seriously, he treated it with a thoroughness and mastery peculiarly his own, and the result was that when his opinion was given it rarely failed to prevail. *He was not prodigal of talk in matters of State, but when he spoke he almost always settled the matter under debate.* His authority in matters of law was undisputed, but it was not

merely as a lawyer that he gave the best of his mind and life to the service of India. His colleagues soon saw in him and learnt to respect that rare gift of statesmanship, the power to look before and after, which is so useful in the art of government and so little exercised in the art of Parliamentary management. He was cautious to the verge of timidity, sensitive to criticism, and perhaps somewhat too prone to avoid it. This was, perhaps, because he had no very high estimate of the worth of public opinion, and had learnt by experience the danger and mischief of subjecting critical affairs of State to the too direct control of popular impulse, popular prejudice, or popular ignorance. No man had more keenly scrutinised than he had the gradual evolution of popular government with all its shortcomings and advantages. Probably no man felt more strongly than he did the difficulty of reconciling the stability of institutions and the continuity of national policy with that form of popular government which consists in the unmitigated supremacy of a democratic legislature. Take him for all in all, however, he had very few equals among those who have formed the Council of the Secretary of State for India. In Sir Henry Maine the State has lost one of its most valuable servants, and the world of letters one of its most brilliant luminaries.

Soon after his return from India, Maine was elected to the newly-created Corpus Professorship of Jurisprudence in the University of Oxford. The Professorship was practically created in order that he might hold it, and since he relinquished it, it has in some respects been remodelled, though in Mr. Frederick Pollock, who succeeded him, the University was fortunate enough to find a professor admirably qualified, alike by the variety of his accomplishments and the direction of his chosen studies, to occupy the chair vacated by his distinguished predecessor.

During his tenure of the chair from 1871 to 1878, Sir Henry Maine—who was created K.C.S.I. in 1871 on his appointment to the Indian Council—delivered several series of lectures, the substance of which was embodied in the successive works published by him on the history of institutions and cognate subjects. In the first series published on *Village Communities* he brought his Indian experience to bear with admirable effect on subjects which had long exercised his attention, and combined it with a lucid exposition of the results achieved in Germany by the researches in the same field of

Von Maurer, Nasse, and others. This was followed in 1875 by *Lectures on the Early History of Institutions*, and in 1883 by *Dissertations on Early Law and Custom*. These works are too well known to all serious readers of modern literature to need any detailed notice on the present occasion. In 1875 Sir Henry Maine delivered the Rede Lecture at Cambridge, characteristically choosing for his subject "The Effects of Observation of India on Modern European Thought"; and in 1878, shortly before resigning his Professorship, he delivered a public lecture at Oxford on "Modern Theories of Succession to Property after Death, and the Corrections of them suggested by Recent Researches."

As a lecturer, Sir Henry Maine was singularly effective. His reputation attracted a large audience, chiefly of graduates, to the little Hall of Corpus Christi College, where his lectures were delivered, and those who came were never disappointed. He had a powerful voice, a clear utterance, a dignified presence, and a singular felicity in the distribution of emphasis so as to make his points tell with full but by no means forced effect.

Such was the influence of Sir Henry Maine's mind and personality on his contemporaries that distinctions and offices were constantly thrust upon him without his seeking. In 1877 the Mastership of Trinity Hall became vacant by the death of Dr. Geldart. Two candidates presented themselves—the Rev. H. Latham, Senior Fellow, who had long served the College as tutor with great devotion and success, and the late Professor Fawcett, who was also a Fellow of the College. The electors were unable to decide between the rival claims. After long and fruitless negotiations between the supporters of the two candidates, a compromise was agreed upon, and the Fellows unanimously agreed to offer the vacant Mastership to Sir Henry Maine. He accepted the office and retained it till his death, though his duties as a member of the Indian Council compelled him to retain his house in London and to reside only intermittently at the Master's lodgings at Cambridge. His heart was in the India Office, and though he worthily represented and embodied the legal traditions associated with Trinity Hall, and discharged with fidelity, dignity, and geniality the official and social duties of the Mastership, he took little active share in the current business of the University.

~~In 1895~~ he was offered by the present Secretary of State for

India, at that time Home Secretary, the post of permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department. He was greatly gratified by the offer and was much tempted by it for a time, but after fully considering the matter he concluded, perhaps wisely, that at his age and with health which had already given him ground for anxiety it was not advisable to undertake entirely new duties of a very arduous character. He resolved, in fact, that India had the first claim on his services, and in this decision his friends could not but concur. Maine would have been a tower of strength in any public department; but the department in which his strength could be employed to the best advantage to the State and at the least sacrifice to himself was that of India, to which his services had been so long, so faithfully, and so ungrudgingly given.

Again, when the office of Chief Clerk of the House of Commons became vacant by the resignation of Sir Erskine May—afterwards created Lord Farnborough—in 1886, it was offered by Mr. Gladstone, at that time Prime Minister, to Sir Henry Maine. Maine declined the offer, though he fully appreciated the compliment implied in it. The offer, indeed, can only be explained by the high estimation in which Maine was held in the public service, which *probably engendered the* conviction that, while he was fully qualified to discharge the duties of any office which he might think proper to undertake, he might be trusted with equal confidence to decline any office for which he felt himself unqualified.

Lastly, when Sir William Harcourt resigned the Professorship of International Law, founded by Whewell at Cambridge, Sir Henry Maine was chosen, almost by public acclamation, as his successor. This was a position specially suited to his genius, and for which his studies and researches had qualified him beyond all possible rivalry. He accepted it with pride and gratification, but not without misgiving on account of his health. He thought, however, that it ought to entail his resignation of his seat at the Indian Council, and he was only with difficulty persuaded to postpone his resignation—which he had announced to his friends on his election to the Chair—until certain important matters, in which he was specially interested, should be settled.

The contemplated preparation of his lectures on International Law cost Sir Henry Maine much labour and anxiety. Many

years ago, before he went to India, he had projected, and to a great extent prepared, a work on *International Law*, intended as a companion to, and conceived in the same spirit as, the well-known work on *Ancient Law*. When he returned from India the manuscript of this work could not be found, and we believe it was never recovered. Accordingly, he had to begin the work entirely afresh when his appointment to the Chair of International Law at Cambridge required him to prepare a course of lectures on the subject. He was not disconcerted or dismayed by the loss of his early lucubrations. On the contrary, though it entailed upon him heavy labour, he thought it in some respects an advantage. His mind never ceased growing, his subsequent studies and experience had expanded his conception of his subject, and he thought that, even if he could recover his lost manuscript, it would need to be largely recast in order to make it represent adequately the point of view from which he had come to regard the subject. Unhappily, death has now frustrated his design.

So far as we have yet traced the literary history of Sir Henry Maine's life in the record of his studies, researches, and writings, it will be seen that it stands entirely aloof from the region of practical politics. His interest in politics—apart from Indian politics—was that of a philosophical and somewhat indifferent observer. No one was more surprised and entertained than he was when in the debates on the Irish Land Bill of 1881 his *dictum* in *Ancient Law* on the historical relations of Status and Contract was pressed into the service of current political controversy. But in his last work on *Popular Government*, published in 1885, just after the demise of the Parliament which had enfranchised the rural householder, and on the very eve of the general election of that year, he seemed to the superficial observer to be inclined to descend from the heights of political speculation and historical inquiry into the noisy warfare of contemporary politics. This was not really the case. *Popular Government* was in its essence the fruit of the same sober and scientific spirit which had produced *Ancient Law*.

Sir Henry Maine's last work was the counterpart and complement of his first. It was an examination of those *à priori* theories of society and government which, originally emanating from Rousseau, have almost unconsciously and imperceptibly

established themselves as the commonplaces of democratic politics. Sir Henry Maine brought these theories to the bar of experience and common-sense and compelled them to produce their credentials. In so doing he necessarily adopted a more polemical tone than when he was discussing the early history of the family, and the origin of the *Patria Potestas*, or comparing the Praetorian jurisdiction at Rome with that of the Court of Chancery. But the method was identical, and the results, though less conclusive, perhaps, in some cases, were none the less instructive to all serious students of politics.

The influence and lessons of *Popular Government* are by no means exhausted as yet. In fact, the real influence which the book was entitled to exert was perhaps obscured, and in some part intercepted for a time by the special circumstances of its first appearance. It was regarded by many who might have been expected to appreciate it more justly as what Mr. John Morley described it in an electioneering speech, namely, "a rattling Tory pamphlet under philosophical disguise." The description was only so far true as it indicated the effect produced by a work so brilliant, so epigrammatic, and withal so difficult to gainsay or refute, on a mind qualified to appreciate its rare literary excellence. "It seems to me," wrote Sir Henry Maine to a friend who had called his attention to Mr. Morley's criticisms, "that the test which he applies and which entitles him to describe the book in the language he has used would prevent any book of any sort touching on politics from being thought impartial. Apparently he means that some of my conclusions are unfavourable to advanced Radicalism and unpalatable to advanced Liberals. But there is much in the book which is disagreeable to Tories also, as I have good reason to believe. . . . If there were an ideal Toryism, I should probably be a Tory; but I should not find it easy to say which party I should wish to win now (in 1885). The truth is, India and the India Office make one judge public men by standards which have little to do with political opinion." Here we seem to have Sir Henry Maine's political views in a nutshell. In politics the welfare of India was all in all to him, and he knew that in many respects it could only be secured by methods with which popular government, as it is generally understood in Europe, has very little in common. He cared more for good government than for party government, and he thought that the two

were by no means necessarily nor universally identical. It is characteristic of the man and his prepossessions that the last serious literary work he undertook was a masterly essay on India, worthy in all respects of his style and method at their best, contributed to Mr. Humphry Ward's valuable compilation, entitled "The Reign of Queen Victoria."

Those who knew Sir Henry Maine personally, and enjoyed his society in moments of leisure and expansion, will be afflicted no less than his official colleagues at his death. There were more brilliant talkers among his contemporaries, but there were few more charming and attractive companions. His conversation was less epigrammatic than his writings. He used to quote, with an approbation which implied far too modest an estimate of his own powers of brilliant talk, the saying of a French author, that "he kept all his good things for his books." Sir Henry Maine did nothing of the kind; but he did not strive at epigram, and his presence and influence irradiated the society in which he moved rather with a diffused and steady effulgence than with brilliant but evanescent flashes. He was singularly free from personal antipathies, and he never indulged in personal animadversions. There was absolutely no rancour in his disposition, and, so far as his utterances, public and private, were concerned, he lived in charity with all men. His affections were strong and his friendships lasting.

Sir Henry Maine was an F.R.S., and was elected in the place of Emerson as a Foreign Associate of the French Academy of Moral and Political Sciences. He had long been a member of "The Club" founded by Dr. Johnson and his associates, perhaps the most distinguished and select of literary societies in London.

THE EMPEROR WILLIAM

OBITUARY NOTICE, SATURDAY, MARCH 10, 1888

FRIEDRICH WILHELM LUDWIG, German Emperor and King of Prussia, whose death Germany and all Europe are mourning to-day, was born on the 22nd of March 1797, the second son of the Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm and his wife, Princess Louisa of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. Six months after his birth his father ascended the throne, to vacate it only after a reign of forty-three years, in 1840. The rural retreat near Potsdam, where his parents resided in an unpretending villa, did not shelter the young Prince from the two opposite influences, then rife in every part of the Continent. Friedrich Wilhelm II., his grandfather, affected to be a king after the haughty and luxurious pattern of Louis XIV.; Friedrich Wilhelm III., his father, an adherent of the new school of philosophy, prided himself upon being a man, a husband, and a philanthropist rather than a king. While the Court retained the laxity imparted by his predecessor, the new King, impotent to change the manners of an entire generation of Ministers and Generals, absented himself from the capital and led an idyllic life with his beautiful spouse in the country.

Amid these striking antagonisms Prince William spent his childhood. In the seclusion of Paretz, he was guided by the hand of an upright, single-minded father; in the splendour of Berlin, his intercourse was with an aristocracy unduly elated with the deeds of Frederick the Great, and lost in the effeminiacies of his successor's period. Thanks to the virtuous example of his parents, thanks to the wise teachings of the Rev. Dr. Delbrück, to whom his education was confided, the Prince

learned to distinguish between the two sides of the picture displayed before him. A composition on the duties of a man and a Prince, handed by him to his father on confirmation, affords remarkable proof of the solidity of his character at that early age. He says in this memorable essay :

"I rejoice to be a Prince, because my rank in life will give me many opportunities to help others. I am far from thinking myself better than those occupying other positions. • I am, on the contrary, fully aware that I am a man exposed to all the frailties of human nature ; that the laws governing the action of all classes alike apply to me too ; and that with the rest of the world I shall one day be held responsible for my deeds. To be an indefatigable learner and striver for the good of my country shall be the one aim of my public life."

His career has shown this a true expression of his sentiments. The modesty, industry, and wish to serve others which distinguished him as a youth adorned him throughout his long life.

EARLY LIFE

If his parents taught the Prince to esteem duty and work above all else, the collapse of the opposite tendencies prevailing in aristocratic circles confirmed the doctrine inculcated in his father's house. An excellent man in intent, Friedrich Wilhelm III. lacked the energy and confidence to impress his principles upon the decaying civil and military service. The disaster which ensued was in proportion to the stupid hauteur of dignitaries who were pleased to consider themselves invincible since the Seven Years' War, though Frederick was gone, and his associates had degenerated into *roués*. "We have fallen asleep upon the laurels of Frederick the Great" was the melancholy complaint of Queen Louisa after the defeat of Jēna in 1806 had almost annihilated the kingdom.

The flight of the Queen to Stettin, König-berg, and Memel was shared by her children. In an open carriage, with only a few attendants, the Queen and her sons drove in mid-winter along the sea-shore to escape the enemy's pursuit. The Queen and Prince William were laid up with typhus before arriving at Memel. Six months more and they had to migrate to Tilsit, where Napoleon forced the unfortunate Queen to receive him and listen to his taunts. "Sire," replied the spirited lady, "it was

a pardonable error in the descendants of Frederick the Great to overrate their strength." A flood of tears followed upon the departure of the ungenerous victor, and when a few days after the event Prince William was made Lieutenant, the Queen told him it was his duty to assist in avenging his country. A year later she died of a broken heart, with the foe still unexpelled. Shortly before her death, in a letter to her father, the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, she spoke warmly of the hero of this notice :

"Prince William, unless I am greatly mistaken, will be like his father in character—honest, guileless, and sensible. In features, too, he resembles him more than any of my other children, though scarcely as handsome. You see, dear papa, I am still in love with my husband. . . . It is, perhaps, as well that our children should be made acquainted with the dark side of life through our misfortunes. The grave countenance of their father and their mother's frequent tears will teach them that clouds and sunshine alternate."

About the same time Captain Reiepe, the military instructor of Prince William, inscribed in his diary the following remarks upon his pupil :

"Prince William learns easily, and has excellent practical common-sense. He is strangely serious and sedate for his age, and will make a reliable soldier and commander."

The next few years witnessed the civil and military reforms which prepared the kingdom for the final struggle with the usurper. The country people were emancipated from the last lingering remnant of landlord control. The towns had fresh charters conferred upon them. The guilds were abolished, universal conscription introduced, and the highest culture and rank made accessible to persons of all classes. Their institutions being thus harmonised with the liberal spirit of the age, the people thronged by tens of thousands into the ranks when the day of reckoning with the foreigner came. The purposeless apathy marking the reign of Frederick William II. was at an end, and a new era of intellectual and political vigour set in. The German style of enthusiasm, a peculiarly tough variety of the fiery passion, equally grounded upon sentiment and thought, came out strong. The Prussians fought fifty battles, entered Paris twice, and took an active part in remodelling the Continent.

Like his brothers, Prince William was with the army through the whole campaign of 1813 and 1814. In the battle of Barsur-Aube, he found occasion to distinguish himself by doing Adjutant's service, and carrying orders into the thick of the fight. He entered Paris, where he was appointed Major, and returned to Berlin after an agreeable visit to London. The Prince is said to have kept a journal during the campaign, which, though as yet undivulged, may possibly one day be given to the world. Though but seventeen, his conduct in the war was that of a calm, cool, and self-possessed soldier. In 1828 the Prince was married at Weimar to Princess Augusta, eldest daughter of the Grand Duke of Saxony and his wife Maria Paulovna, Grand Duchess of Russia.

The twenty-five years which elapsed between the close of the war and the death of Frederick William III. saw the maturing of the political opinions of the Prince. It was a peculiarly interesting period. The reconstruction of the German Empire after the war had been prevented partly by the jealousy of Russia and France, partly by the reluctance of Prussia and the Liberals to readmit the half-foreign and wholly Ultramontane Austria to the first place. But if the eminent share Prussia had in the nation's defence protected her from being reduced to the rank of a secondary power, under the control of an Austro-German Kaiser, neither had she the strength to secure a recognised place at the head of the nation. As opposed to Austria she was, no doubt, the representative of the national and liberal movement in Germany. She had prepared for the war by political reform, and carried it on by an enthusiastic uprising of her population, from boy to veteran, the like of which has never been witnessed in modern times. She had appointed champions of culture and popular rights, Ministers, and, through the mouth of her King, promised the revival on a modern basis of the ancient representative institutions of the race. All this made the Germans look to her as destined to assume the imperial hegemony, gradually dropping away from Catholic, Slavified, and reactionary Austria.

But the task was too much for Prussia. She would have had to fight Austria and Russia had she listened to the popular voice. She was clearly too weak for the gigantic enterprise after three sanguinary campaigns against the western enemy. Nor was the temper of her King of a colour to encourage him

*to engage in the venture. Cautious, diffident, and reserved, Frederick William III. had been too deeply shaken by the vicissitudes of preceding campaigns to be raised up by their victorious issue. Being also very methodic and conscientiously devoted to the despatch of business details, his strong points, as well as his weak, combined to make him prefer the labours of peace to the glories of war. To international and personal motives dissuading from another venture in the field came a strong and easily intelligible reluctance to lean upon Liberalism as the mainstay of his domestic and foreign policy.

Frederick William III. was anything but a reactionary. He had established municipal self-government; he had emancipated the peasantry, curtailed the prerogatives of the nobility, and thrown open the public service to all classes alike; he had introduced a Liberal commercial policy, abolished the duties shutting off province from province, and done away with guilds. Above all, he had made the schools the envy of the world; he had enacted an admirable and most effective code; and he had reorganised the civil service and judicature in so enlightened a style, that for administrative skill and incorruptible integrity the Prussian bureaucracy has since been justly lauded throughout Europe. To effect all this he had called in the help of the best men of the time. Surrounded by the Humboldts and the Steins, the Hardenbergs and the Schlegelmachers, the Schons, the Fichtes, and the Bückhs, he might well consider himself to be marching at the head of his age and his country.

But if the aims of Liberalism were thus practically realised by a judicious King, content to act as the chief of an intelligent staff, accessible to all classes, this temperate potentate was the less inclined to modify the form of government traditionally handed down to him. There never had been much margin for despotism in Brandenburg-Prussia. The rulers of the country had to rely too unconditionally upon the good offices of the inhabitants, and the race in the perils jeopardising its existence had too early developed a rough and rugged temperament to afford much latitude to the arbitrary whims of royalty. In a history which was a continued struggle for dear life, there was little room for anything except what was necessary, practical, and improving. Had the people been less endowed with the German capacity for hard thinking they would have degenerated into a mere military tribe, as, in fact, there was danger at one

time they would. However, they happily emerged from the soldiering era of the last century to take rank as the leaders of their nation in the arena of intellectual as well as military progress. The same necessity which forced them to invent new systems of infantry tactics, to devise the iron ramrod in 1740, and the needle-gun in 1840, compelled the cultivation of the nobler resources of the mind, and created a structure of society and a form of government peculiarly calculated to develop the individual. Nominally absolutist, the Prussian government practically had long been a creditable arrangement for the promotion of the public weal, by means of persons specially educated for the performance of their task, and controlled by the pervading common-sense and honour of a respectable national type.

Derived from the history of the kingdom and royal family, and grounded upon what appeared irrefragable reasoning, the political creed of Frederick William III. was fully and entirely endorsed by his sons. Prince William more especially approved the Conservative leanings of his father. A clear reasoner from his youth, his intellectual idiosyncracies developed the ability to draw correct conclusions rather than to take in new and enlarged views. Whenever he adverted to politics, he advocated the maintenance of existing monarchical institutions as a primary necessity of the State. His unflinching adherence to this opinion, his refusal to discuss the possibility of a change, caused him to be regarded as the hope of the Conservatives, the more so as his elder brother had a vague poetic way of looking upon politics which, less consistent and comprehensible, strongly contrasted with the definite and seemingly immutable opinions of the firm and outspoken William. Still it would be conveying a wrong impression to say that the Prince took any particular interest in politics during his father's life. As the second son, only a few years the junior of his elder brother, he did not look forward to ascending the throne, even though his brother should remain childless, as he did; and, his taste agreeing with his prospects, he turned his attention to military matters, not to affairs of State. The perfect acquaintance with the condition and wants of the army which he acquired in that period of his life eventually contributed as much to impart a distinct character and surpassing success to his reign as any political studies could have done.

REIGN OF FREDERICK WILLIAM IV.

The reign of Frederick William IV., the elder brother and predecessor of the deceased Emperor, lasted from 1840 to 1861. During that time the flood-gates of Liberalism were thrown open. By one of the most remarkable processes in the history of the German mind, representative institutions were exacted from a Conservative King by a people equally Conservative, and who had every reason to be satisfied with the general management of the State and the part played by their most enlightened citizens in influencing public affairs. The only tangible aim pursued by Liberals in insisting upon the convention of a Representative Assembly was the reunion of the German States into a common whole. While a German Parliament existed, the nation had been united; since the downfall of the Representative Assembly in 1806, the land had been portioned out among its Princes, and the power and security of the people gone. But this Eldorado of a reunited Germany appeared altogether too distant and too visionary a scheme to become the aim of a political movement. What the people really yearned after was to vindicate their honour by an access of prerogative. Their scholars had held forth upon the equity of the claim. Their poets had advocated the Teuton's right to representative government in flowing verse.

If a policy could have been devised expressly to develop this semi-sentimental view and convert it into practical resolve, it was the course held by Frederick William IV. Conservative to his heart's core, his very Conservatism led him to reinstitute Provincial Estates because they had existed 200 years before; while the identical principle prevented his bestowing upon them more than deliberate rights, because the kings of Prussia had been absolute for a century and a half. The controversy born of this contrariety filled a period of nearly ten years, and, being enlivened by royal reprimands, dealt right and left, wounded and, by wounding, strengthened that very feeling of dignity which was at the bottom of the whole movement.

At last public opinion was so deeply excited by the painful and interminable conflict that, when Government required a heavy loan to lay down railways, they could not conceal from themselves the impossibility of getting it without a Parliamen-

tary vote, and to obtain this vote King Frederick William IV. was reluctantly prevailed upon to convoke the first United Diet of the Monarchy—a Diet, that is to say, composed of all the Provincial Assemblies—which met at Berlin on the 11th of April 1847. The Prince of Prussia, as well as one Herr von Bismarck, of Schönhausen, in the Old Mark—as yet unknown to him and the world—who sat in the Diet, beheld this beginning of Parliamentary life with misgivings and aversion. It is true that he ultimately yielded to the majority of his brother's counsellors ; but, more practical than his royal "*frère poète*," who, when opening the Diet, swore that he would never allow a sheet of paper to come between the Lord God in heaven and his subjects, Prince William sadly foresaw the consequences of this first Constitutional step taken by the King. And these consequences were not long in coming—they came, indeed, in less than a single year.

In Prussia the revolution of 1848 began with the enactment of a *bona fide* charter. With his principles the Prince could not but object to the sudden surrender of the royal prerogative to an Assembly elected by manhood suffrage. Yet when the change had been consummated by his brother, the Prince, seeing everything metamorphosed, and, possibly, discerning little difference between the United Diet and the new House which floated freely on the billows, acquiesced in what he was unable to prevent. As, however, rumour attributed to him the order to attack the barricades, he withdrew for a while. Leaving Berlin in a manner strangely contrasting with his future position, he came to London and resided at the Prussian Embassy in Carlton House Terrace. Baron Bunsen, in his private letters, bears witness to the calm composure maintained by his guest during those trying days, of which the suspense was relieved by frequent intercourse with Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, Lord Palmerston, and particularly with Prince Albert. His communion with these eminent political thinkers bore good fruit, and when the subsidence of the waters of revolution enabled him to return to Berlin he sought to dispel the unpopularity which had gathered round his name by frankly declaring that, having regard to the spirit and necessities of the time, he was prepared to support his royal brother in the Constitutional course on which he had been forced to embark.

But this course consisted in an attempt to pour new wine

into old bottles. The Crown had one idea of Constitutionalism and the country another. What the Representative Assembly, convened to concert the details of a charter, aimed at was an amount of Parliamentary power which would have Americanised the country; what the King, the royal family, the Cabinet, and the more judicious section of the people insisted upon was to maintain a state of things in consonance with the traditions of the past, the social structure of the present, and the defensive necessities of a nation surrounded by military and ambitious Powers. Innumerable collisions between Crown and National Assembly terminated in the dissolution of the latter and the promulgation of a complete charter, founded on the Belgian model, by the King. He kept his promise by the enactment of a Constitution, conferring upon Parliament a share in legislation and taxation; but, all other laws remaining as they were, he turned his administrative omnipotence to account to restrict individual rights and to strengthen the hands of the police.

True to his principles, the Prince of Prussia applauded the endeavours of the King to reconcile new institutions with the old standard. He had openly sided with the King against the National Assembly; had seconded his brother's refusal to accept the German Crown on conditions which, as the King termed it, would make him the slave of revolution; and had finally placed himself at the head of the Prussian army despatched against the Baden rebels. But if he objected to the surrender of power by king and bureaucracy to assemblies elected by manhood suffrage, the means by which the reactionaries sought to prolong their sway were equally distasteful to him. The police *régime*, identified with the names of Manteuffel, Wesphalen, and Hinckeldey, did not come up to his ideas of legality and loyalty. It is a fact redounding to his honour that the Prince, who opposed Constitutionalism before its establishment, was so undisguisedly disgusted with the means taken to repress its excrescences that the Manteuffel police thought it needful to watch his steps. A box on the ear he conferred upon a spy attained historical celebrity.

While domestic affairs were in this sorry plight the Crimean War broke out. Differing from his brother, the Prince of Prussia at once declared against the Tsar. No doubt he sympathised with Nicholas, his father's ally, his own brother-in-law, and the guardian of monarchical power on the Continent; but the Prince

could not leave out of account that he was a German and a member of the leading dynasty of his race. He would not brook the humiliation of Olmutz inflicted upon his country and family by the proud autocrat of St. Petersburg— Olmutz which had meant the resuscitation of the old and retrograde Bund under the supremacy of a jealous Austria, as well as the shameful renunciation by Prussia of her rôle as appointed unifier of the nation— Olmutz to which even perhaps Frederick William would never have gone but for the dictatorial attitude of the Tsar. The retreat forced upon him, the treatment he had to endure at the hands of his imperious relative; the death of Count Brandenburg, the Prussian negotiator, a day after the abasement sustained, were deeply resented by every Prussian— nay, by every German. There is reason to believe that the Prince of Prussia advised war at all risks rather than pocket these insults; but Frederick William IV. had cast in his lot with the reactionary party, who, teaching him to reverence the Tsar as the protector of kingship all over the world, prevented reprisals. When the cannon thundered in front of Sebastopol, the Prince of Prussia reminded him what had happened. If, he urged, Russia jealously impeded Prussia's attaining a legitimate goal, Prussia could have no interest in shielding Russia from western attack. The King half listened to these representations, and pressed Nicholas to desist. Failing in this he adopted a benevolent neutrality. The part played by Prussia at the Paris Congress had nothing in it to reconcile the Prince to the policy pursued.

After the Peace of Paris King Frederick William IV. charged the Prince of Prussia with the control of public business. The delicate physical organisation of the King had succumbed under the political agitation of the time. A crowned *bel esprit*, noble-minded and susceptible in his every impulse, he had the mortification to see his policy rejected by his people and his people coerced by his police. The one being as unendurable as the other, the royal sufferer, whose life is a most melancholy episode in modern history, felt his reasoning faculties gradually slip from him. When the decree authorising the Prince to act in the King's behalf had been twice renewed without any visible improvement in the King's condition, the Prince on 9th October 1858 was appointed Regent. He was now entitled to act independently. From that day dates his reign, and simultaneous

almost with the commencement of his reign was the marriage of his only son and heir, Prince Frederick William, to the Princess Royal of England—a union which has not belied the auspicious hopes with which, in both countries, it was hailed.

Like an incubus, the Manteuffel fraternity vanished before the rays of the rising sun. A Liberal administration was forthwith created. Prince Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a south German sovereign, who, to promote unity, abdicated in 1848 in favour of the King of Prussia, consented to become the head of the Ministry. Rudolph von Auerwald, an avowed Liberal, who had been brought up with the Prince Regent, was the heart and soul of the new Cabinet. Others of equal promise rallied round these chiefs. Prussia breathed freely when, in a famous address to his new advisers, the Prince Regent owned to a moderate but fearless and straightforward Liberalism. To keep Constitutional promises, promote administrative reforms, and infuse a free spirit into the Church, which had lately been disgraced by stagnation and hypocrisy—such were the leading items of the programme laid down by the new ruler. As there were no Republicans in the country, his emphasizing divine right had nothing in it to alarm any one. To follow up words by deeds, the administration was restored to its old standard of impartiality and integrity. The petty tyranny exercised by the police towards Liberals had an end, and the law ceased to be interpreted by servile sycophants in a way unintelligible to the public. The announced will of the Prince that truth and honesty should reign paramount was realised.

Soon after the Prince Regent had an opportunity of unfolding his German aspirations. On Napoleon going to war with Austria in Italy, Prussia moved in the German Diet, reconstructed after the abandonment of her plans for unity, that the German armies be mobilised, placed under her command, and sent to the Rhine. No sooner did the news reach the Austrian camp than the Emperor Francis Joseph concluded peace. Rather than witness Prussia's military supremacy in Germany, he gave up a province. Rather than be saved by Prussia's help he would incur loss. After this crucial test all hope of a friendly understanding with Austria on the German question was relinquished at Berlin. Yet, although he knew that Austria's policy was supported by many of the minor sovereigns, the Prince, at the meeting of the German Princes

with Napoleon in 1860, distinctly assured his royal brethren that no difference of opinion should ever induce him to connive at the diminution of German territory. Notwithstanding that this resolution was purposely expressed to dispel any notion that Prussia, having failed to agree with Austria, might settle with France, Louis Napoleon mistook the utterance for a mere *façon de parler*. He subsequently encouraged Prussia to begin war with Austria because convinced that his connivance would have to be purchased with the coveted Rhine frontier.

WILLIAM I., KING OF PRUSSIA

King Frederick William IV. being gathered to his fathers on 2nd January 1861, the Prince Regent became William I. In his first speech from the throne he proclaimed a truth, borne out by impending events. "It was not Prussia's lot," he said, "to rejoice in the tranquil enjoyment of acquired possessions. Only by extreme exertion of her moral and intellectual powers, by the sincerity of her religious faith, by the union of obedience and liberty and the development of her military strength, could she hope to retain her position in the world." As fate would have it, the people were not equally persuaded with their sovereign of this necessity. This difference of opinion led to a split, and the most serious consequences at home and abroad.

As early as 1849 the then Prince of Prussia made public avowal of his opinions on military affairs. The German and Prussian Parliaments having proposed to convert the German armies into a militia, with self-elected officers, who were to follow civil occupations when not in the field, the Prince in that year printed an anonymous pamphlet to oppose this eccentric scheme, and the equally shrewd and convincing arguments against it which he then used were supplemented in the inaugural address of the Prince Regent to the new Cabinet on the 8th of November 1858. The organisation of the Prussian army having survived the short-lived pretensions of the Frankfort and Berlin Parliaments, the Prince suggested the advisability of increasing and strengthening the professional character of the troops. Prussia, as he worded it, ought to be strong if she wished to have a voice in the council of nations, and a cheap army would prove the most expensive in the long run by diminishing the chances of victory. In keeping with

these convictions the Prince in his speech from the throne on the 12th of January 1860, declared it to be "his duty and his right" to insist upon the amendment of the defects lately apparent in the condition of the army. The Bill submitted in the ensuing session, besides prolonging the service in the reserve from two to four years, raised the peace footing from 150,000 to 213,000 men ; increased the number of recruits from 40,000 to 63,000 a year ; and, to make room for a further increase, nearly doubled existing regiments.

Had the Chamber, had the country, formed a correct estimate of the Prince's character and policy at the time this Bill was submitted, the grave conflict to which it gave rise would never have arisen. In other words, had the people foreseen that the Prince—acting on the advice of the heaven-sent Minister who was now the soul of his policy—intended to fight it out with Austria, and attempt a loosening of the oppressive tie which kept Prussia weak and Germany disunited, there would have been no material opposition to the military measures proposed. But no one gave the Prince credit for cherishing such a comprehensive scheme. His courage, his resolution, and his fine sense of honour were sufficiently known to protect him from the suspicion of incurring another Warsaw or Olmutz ; but his reminiscence of Holy Alliance traditions was thought to be too vivid and his conservatism too ingrained to allow him to settle accounts with Austria, infringe the sovereign rights of the minor dynasties, and seek the alliance of the Liberal party throughout the Fatherland. The conclusion drawn from these premisses was that the Prince Regent, a thorough-going soldier, was anxious to augment the army, not because there was any immediate anticipation of turning it to account, but to gratify his personal taste for tall grenadiers and model battalions inherited from the father of Frederick the Great. Parliament after Parliament therefore declined to minister to what to them appeared a royal hobby, not a political necessity, and successive dissolutions only resulted in adding to the numbers of the Opposition.

But this Opposition was broken, or at least baffled, by the opportune appearance on the scene of Herr von Bismarck, who, having sat as an angry and uncompromising foe of popular claims in the successive Parliaments of the Revolutionary era, having acquired a consummate acquaintance with German

politics as a member of the regalanised Diet at Frankfort, and having gained valuable diplomatic experience at St. Petersburg and Paris, was now discerned by King William to be the only man who could pilot him through the storms that were beginning to rage round the ship of State. No sooner was Bismarck at the helm of affairs than he began to arrange his cards by conciliating Russia with the offer of substantial help in suppressing the Polish insurrection. Great was the unpopularity incurred by both him and his master from this misunderstood and misrepresented act, but it was nothing to the obloquy which their efforts to dragoon Parliament to their wills drew down upon their names. The reasoning employed to make good their case was as simple as it was unexpected. The Budget, they alleged, had constitutionally to be passed by both Houses. Now, the House of Lords having rejected the Budget voted by the Lower House, on the ground of the curtailment of the military estimates by the Commons, no Budget was legally there. What was Government to do in this predicament? The two Houses having failed to supply the financial law provided in the charter, the only remedy left for Government was to be guided by their own lights pending the establishment of a better understanding between Lords and Commons. Excepting a few Conservatives, the novel reading of the charter was rejected by the whole country. The Crown Prince himself, at a later stage of the struggle, declared against the advice given the Crown by the interpreting Ministers as being detrimental to the chances of his succession, and for a time had to dwell under a cloud of royal displeasure.

The dismay of the people was great indeed when the proceedings of Herr von Bismarck, discountenanced by the Lower Courts, were approved by the supreme tribunal, packed for the purpose. After this the Government found it comparatively easy to enforce their will. For a period of four years the administration of the country was carried on without a properly-voted Budget. The slight pressure felt by the individual, the dread of retributive measures, and the fear of shaking a political fabric erected amid the storms of preceding centuries, combined to restrict the opposition of the people to passive resistance; but many would not pay the taxes until an execution was in their house, and the feeling that something portentous had happened was overwhelming. Not even when

Austria made a faint attempt to profit by the unpopularity of the Hohenzollern and unite Germany under the Hapsburg would the Prussian Parliament give in to the Crown. Nor had the Danish War and the acquisition of Schleswig-Holstein, soothing as it was to the feelings of the people, power to induce the submission of the refractory deputies. The war with Austria in 1866 about the division of the spoil, popular as it might have been under a Liberal Cabinet, was likewise opposed because Bismarck guided the helm. It was held to be dangerous to fight Austria when the minor Sovereigns, owing to the temporary unpopularity of Hohenzollern, were unable to make common cause with the Kaiser. It was feared that Bismarck might be driven to ask for the help of France, and pay for it too, were he beaten by Austria. It was, at any rate, clear that Napoleon III. counted upon some such contingency when stimulating Bismarck to war; and though nobody accused King William of aspiring to aggrandise Prussia at the risk of seeing Germany divided between himself, Austria, and France, still such a result seemed possible.

The overthrow of the Austrian army and State in a single week having removed this peril, and paved the way for German unity, all previous misunderstandings were effaced in joy at this stupendous event. The Prussian Parliament passed a vote of indemnity for military expenses. The new North German Parliament congratulated King William as the benefactor of his race; and the Sovereign, who had been mistaken for a disciplinarian by some and an autocrat by others, stood revealed as a deep politician and a skilful general. His noble pride in preferring the chance of another war to paying blackmail to Napoleon III. served to enhance his renown among his people and the nations of the world.

THE WAR WITH FRANCE

The Peace of Prague had scarcely been signed when it became clear to all men, and to none clearer than to King William and his counsellors, that a war with France was only a question of time. As early as the winter of 1868-69 Count Moltke elaborated a complete scheme of action for the contingency of a defensive invasion of France, and it was by following this scheme in all its details that the German army were enabled

to achieve those marvellous victories which justly won for the strategist who planned them a lofty and lasting niche in the temple of military fame. The King of Prussia was told by his most far-seeing advisers that Germany would never become perfectly regenerated until it endured the final birth-throe of a struggle with France, and yet the pacific King, as far as he himself was concerned, did his best to avoid a rupture with Napoleon. A rupture had seemed inevitable when, in pursuance of his "policy of compensation," Napoleon, immediately after the war of 1866, demanded Mayence and the Rhine frontier of 1814, a demand of which the refusal was followed by his concoction of secret treaty designs on Belgium, and again when, balked in all his other schemes of bloodless conquest at the expense of Prussia, he vainly cast about to get hold of Luxemburg. Shortly after the settlement of the Luxemburg dispute King William, in company with the Tsar, repaired to Paris during the great Exhibition; but the visit served to enlighten His Majesty, or at least Bismarck and Moltke, who went with him, as to the true feelings of France towards Prussia.

Louis Napoleon, and with him the greater part of the French nation, beheld with a very jealous eye the strong and solid North German Confederation succeed to the loose and in-harmonious system of the old Bund; but the masterly diplomacy of Bismarck had kept him inactive during the Seven Weeks' War; he lost his opportunity, and it never returned. Yet the share he took in the peace negotiations showed that he still clung to the traditionary belief of his countrymen that it was their privilege to interfere in German affairs and profit by all *querelles d'Allemand*. Thus it was that to French initiative was due, among others, that article in the Treaty of Prague which stipulated that the South German States should continue to maintain "an international and independent position"—a stipulation which was nothing but a Gallic command of "Thus far may you go in your efforts after unity, but no further."

What, then, was the surprise of the French nation to learn during the discussion of the Luxemburg question, which threatened to precipitate the inevitable war, that even before the Treaty of Prague, containing the above stipulation, was signed, the King of Prussia had concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with each of the South German States! The publica-

tion of this significant fact did not fail to lay King William's Ministers open to the charge of duplicity; but it at least had the effect of disposing Napoleon to settle the Luxemburg dispute without an appeal to arms. So for the next three years the Prussian Government could devote itself to the task of assimilating the conquered sovereignties of Hanover and Hesse-Nassau, and encouraging the organising labours of the North German Parliament. Already one from a military and commercial (Customs Parliament) point of view, how was Germany to become politically united? How were the States south of the Main to be united to those north of it, thus producing the "*ganzes Deutschland*" of the lyric poet? The Emperor Napoleon again kindly came to the aid of the statesmen at Berlin, whose thoughts for four years had been vainly occupied with the solution of this political problem.

On the 30th of June 1870 M Ollivier declared in the Corps Législatif that the peace of Europe was never more assured, and before the end of the next month the colossal armies of France and Germany stood confronting each other in battle array on the banks of the Rhine. What had wrought such a sudden and marvellous change? What was the nature of this terrific bolt out of the blue? Its ostensible character, at least, was plain enough, and to the philosophic historian the causes of a war are far more interesting than its course. The throne of Spain was vacant, and the sceptre of Charles V. had been offered to a remote and Catholic kin-man of the King of Prussia. At this the French nation professed to take alarm, and its alarm was marked by that overstrung intensity which not unfrequently characterises the feelings of that sensitive and excitable people. That, if a Hohenzollern Prince—much more nearly related to the ruling families of France and Portugal—ruled at Madrid, France would run the risk of being overshadowed by the wings of the Prussian eagle, was, perhaps, natural for hasty Frenchmen to believe; and, if they believed it, there was no reason why they should be refused the advantage of a doctrine which Europe had repeatedly approved. But they also jumped to the conclusion that Prince Leopold had been put forward by Prussia of set and deliberate purpose to insult France, and precipitate that war which each nation believed the other to be meditating.

The truth is that the French people, more, no doubt, than

their Emperor, had long been looking for some cause of quarrel with Prussia, however flimsy, and in that perennial source of strife, the Spanish Succession, they found it. Before the battle of Koniggrätz France had been unchallenged Queen of the Continent; but now a united Germany threatened to usurp her long unquestioned sway, and she was determined to try conclusions with the *parvenu* rival of her fame and power. The fierce struggle that ensued had a most complicated origin, but it may be described as the resultant of two nearly equal forces emanating from the Tuileries and the Vatican. In the Vatican the rapid growth of an enlightened Germany under a Protestant ruler had been watched with equal aversion and dread, and the occupant of St. Peter's Chair, whose tottering throne was propped by French bayonets, naturally beheld in Catholic France his surest ally against a power whose victories in science and learning, in peace and in war, had given a rude disintegrating shock to the fabric of his own temporal, if not spiritual, sway. Quick to discern the signs of the times, the Jesuits devised an Œcumenical Council as a last desperate means of staving off their evil day, and it was by no mere chance that war against Prussia by France and the doctrine of Papal infallibility—that is, war against the human mind by Rome—were simultaneously declared.

We have thus hinted at the real, if occult, causes of the huge cataclysm which threw down one Empire and built up another. The tragedy was prelude by one of the most dramatic incidents in the annals of diplomacy—the meeting of King William and Count Benedetti at Ems in the warm July days of 1870. The candidature of Prince Leopold for the throne of Spain is still wrapped in a certain amount of mystery; and it may plausibly be argued that Bismarck, who saw further than his royal master, recognised in the Prince's voluntary acceptance of the proffered crown an unexpected means of promoting his policy which it was not in his interest to discard. But it is quite certain, at least, that King William himself was guiltless of a design to provoke France, or to compass her detriment by placing “a Prince of his house on the throne of Charles V.” His Majesty innocently believed that the close relationship of Prince Leopold with the Bonaparte family—closer than with his own—would reconcile Napoleon to the Hohenzollern candidature, and for the rest he allowed

his young kinsman to act as he had a mind. He was not entitled, he said, to forbid the Prince from accepting the Spanish crown; and for the same reason he could not and would not order him, in compliance with the French demand, to renounce it. In view of the excitement raging in France he would approve the step if the Prince receded, but the initiative must come from the royal candidate himself. Acting, it is known, on the secret suggestion of the pacific King, Prince Leopold did withdraw; and had the French been wise they would have contented themselves with this diplomatic victory. But their fighting blood was up with the suspicion that they had been made the objects of an unscrupulous intrigue on the part of Prussia, and they demanded a guarantee against its future repetition. To this King William could only reply by a dignified refusal to discuss such a humiliating request, and the immediate result was the greatest and most momentous war of modern times.

These were stupendous and exciting days. The insult offered to King William filled every German with patriotic rage, and the whole nation was thrilled with a deep and fierce content to think that the hour of final reckoning with its hereditary foe had at last come. Not a mere dynastic dispute, but a great and long-standing quarrel between two peoples, was about to be settled by mortal combat. In France itself, to use the words of M. Benedetti, the declaration of war was received with "transports of enthusiasm," and Paris burst into frenzied shouts of "To the Rhine, to Berlin!" But, cruel irony of fate, the Rhine remained uncrossed by a single French soldier. Down swooped the hosts of the united Fatherland upon the ill-prepared legions of the Empire, and almost sooner than the bewildered world could take in the separate scenes of the unparalleled drama, the finest armies of warlike France had been crumpled up and scattered to the winds, her most formidable fortresses had been disposed of, her Emperor, at the head of more than 100,000 men, had been captured and sent to Germany, and her capital lay stretched a suppliant at the feet of her conquerors in irresistible gyves of engirdling fire and steel. Never had the world seen anything like it. Placing himself, with his seventy-three summers on his brow, at the head of the united German armies—for the Southern States, though not yet politically one with the North, had hastened

to place their troops under His Majesty's command—King William again sallied forth against the foe in front of whom, as a lad of seventeen, he had first won his spurs. He shirked not the fatigues and dangers of the campaign; just as in Bohemia he had coolly exposed himself in the very forefront of the fray, he was frequently under fire in the most sanguinary battles, and his presence never failed to inspire his troops with an enthusiasm which nothing could resist. Thus they bore him on from victory unto victory, from Mars-la-Tour to Gravelotte, Sedan, and Paris.

GERMAN EMPEROR

Finally, on the 18th of January 1871, the anniversary of the day on which King William's ancestor Frederick, the first King of Prussia, had crowned himself at Königsberg, 170 years before, the conqueror of France was acclaimed German Emperor by the Sovereigns of Germany and the chiefs of the army assembled in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles. His brother and predecessor on the throne had refused the Imperial dignity because offered him by the Revolution and the representatives of the people whose sovereignty he was thus asked to acknowledge; but no such scruple could weigh with William I., who now returned to Germany an Emperor-King, wearing the crown of Barbarossa and of Charlemagne, sparkling with the reconquered gems of Alsace-Lorraine. The national aspirations of so many years had at last been realised; the policy of blood and iron, to which his Chancellor had managed to convert him, had done what fine speeches and paper constitutions had failed to do; and, from being a mere geographical expression, slighted and ignored by the rest of Europe, Germany now became one of the stablest and most formidable States, one of the most pregnant facts of modern times. The instrument wherewith this political edifice was erected was the German army, which may well be called the most perfect organisation of the kind that ever existed, and its creation was mainly the work of the Emperor William. To have fashioned the tool which achieved such a task was in itself no slight merit, and the Emperor, with native modesty, never claimed to have done very much more. "You," said His Majesty in toasting the army after Sedan, "You, War

Minister von Roon, have sharpened our sword; you, General von Moltke, have wielded it; and you, Count von Bismarck, by your management of our policy, have brought Prussia to her present height of glory."

THE STRUGGLE WITH ROME

Not long permitted to rest upon his laurels, the conqueror in three campaigns only returned from France to find that he had a more desperate foe to fight than either the Danes, the Austrians, or the French. The weapons of these enemies had been balls and bayonets, but William the Victorious, as his fond subjects began to call him, was now confronted with a host of adversaries armed with "quibbles quick and paper bullets of the brain." The Pope and the Jesuits had virtually declared war against the new German Empire. Before leaving Versailles the Emperor had been waited upon by a Catholic deputation from Prussia, who vainly prayed him to use his new-won might in restoring the temporal power of the Pope, and the answer to His Majesty's refusal was the appearance in the first Imperial Parliament of an entirely new faction, that of the Centre or Clericals, whose watchword was negation, whose banner was blazoned with the ancient war-cry of the Guelphs, and to whom the Declaration of Infallibility was a much more binding document than the new German Constitution.

The struggle that now broke out between Church and State was not new. It was as old, as Bismarck said, as Agamemnon and the siege of Troy. It was nothing but the old contest for power between the Pope and the Emperor which had raged all through the Middle Ages, dividing and deluging Germany with blood. It was the question whether in the civil *imperio* there should continue to exist an ecclesiastical *imperium*; in fact, it was the question between Society and the Syllabus. At first the attitude of King William was a purely defensive one. True to the principles of religious tolerance which have ever been the boast of his family, he did not object to the newly-propounded tenets of the Vatican being taught to the Catholic youth of Prussia, although these tenets were held to clash with the duties of civil allegiance. All he did was to protect from material harm (arising from ecclesiastical penalties) such of his

subjects and servants as, from scruples of conscience, refused to teach and preach them.

Above all things the late Emperor was an unaggressive man. He, more than most military monarchs, ever acted on the sage advice of Polonius to his son about "entrance to a quarrel," and especially so in his quarrel with the Pope. For he knew that to enter into a conflict with Pius the Ninth was to incur the risk of alienating the loyalty of about a third of his own subjects; and this might have very serious consequences at a time when the young empire was exposed to peril no less from jealous foes without than explosive forces within.

But, in addition to being a pacific monarch, the Emperor was an exceedingly pious one. Before engaging on a struggle *à outrance* with a spiritual potentate, King William must have had political provocation of no ordinary kind, and that a sufficient *casus belli* did exist was convincingly shown him by the man who had made him ruler of a united and an enlightened Germany, and was firmly resolved that no alien and obscurantist usurper should ever share his Imperial master's sway. As usual, therefore, the Emperor-King sent his foremost fighting man into the lists, and looked approvingly on while the latter rained showers of resounding blows on his Papal antagonist, who, however, showed marvellous powers of resistance and tenacity.

It was no doubt quite natural for the Emperor to believe that the policy of blood and iron which had unified Germany would also prevail against its Jesuit foes and ill-wishers; but, had he been less of a soldier, and therefore less familiar with the idea of force as the ultimate arbiter of disputes, he would probably have viewed with more misgiving the masterful means proposed by his Chancellor to combat the encroachments of a Church whose spiritual sway has been rather increased than otherwise by the destruction of its temporal power. But with Dr. Falk to draft his repressive measures, and Prince Bismarck to champion them, and willing majorities both in the Prussian and Imperial Parliament to pass them, and the public applause of enlightened Protestant countries like England and America to encourage him, he never doubted that the path of combat he had chosen was the right one.

The publication of a correspondence between the Pope and the Emperor added immensely to the popularity of the latter, if that, indeed, could be said of a Sovereign who was already

the idol of his people. There was only one voice which maligned him, and that was the voice of the infuriated Pope. But even the Catholic world was pained to see their spiritual chief, who claimed the virtues of infallible wisdom, so utterly incapable of controlling his own bad temper. His allocutions and his encyclicals were disfigured by the most abusive language towards the head of the German Empire, whose ambassador designate he refused to receive ; and at last the measure of his personal insults grew so full that the Emperor was compelled to withdraw his representative at the Curia and break off further intercourse with a potentate who had gone the length of declaring certain Prussian statutes to be null and void, and denounced their sovereign executor as the "rabid patron of force and fraud."

Whenever Rome thundered forth its anathemas and its insults, the Emperor-King quietly replied by acts and laws. At first these were of a purely defensive character ; but it was soon found that the safety and supremacy of the civil power could only be ensured by carrying the war into the camp of the enemy. Within six years, or from 1872-78, a formidable list of measures, generally known as the Falk or May Laws, were enacted against the Catholic Church. Limits were imposed on the freedom of pulpit speech ; the Jesuits were banished from the Empire, and all other religious and non-Samaritan orders broken up ; the education of the national youth and of the Catholic clergy was placed entirely under the supervision of the State ; civil marriage was made compulsory ; stringent forms were devised for testing the civil allegiance of the clergy before their appointment ; and, to crown all, heavy penalties in the shape of fines, imprisonment, and banishment were enacted against the transgressors of any of these laws. To a man the Prussian bishops, who at Rome had opposed the doctrine of Infallibility, but had soon afterwards gone over bag and baggage to the Papal camp, now encouraged their clergy and flocks to resist these laws, taking refuge themselves in an attitude of *non possumus* and passive resistance. The consequence was that most of them were soon either living in exile or in Prussian gaols, while hundreds of parishes were left without priests. The May Laws were administered with relentless severity ; Catholic society became disorganised, and sent up a wail of oppression ; but still the stubborn folly of the Pope

was met by the dignified firmness of the Emperor, whose Chancellor had vowed that his master, unlike his mediæval predecessor Henry IV., "would never go to Canossa."

And yet as time went on the Emperor himself was the first to admit that the heat of the Kulturkampf had engendered laws which were not permanently necessary to secure proper relations between Church and State; that blows had been given to wound as well as to disarm. One main obstacle, as it was thought, to the conclusion of peace was removed in the spring of 1878 by the death of Pius IX.; but Leo XIII. cheated the promise of his accession to the throne of St. Peter, and proved to be no less obstinate a stickler for the divine right of Popes than his infallible predecessor.

Hopeful negotiations between Bismarck and various agents of the Vatican ended in smoke; but yet the Emperor was determined to show his Catholic subjects that, if their grievances continued unabated, their spiritual and not their secular sovereign would be to blame for it. And his method was as effective as it was safe and ingenious. His Government would not consent to repeal any essential principle of the May Laws, but managed to procure from Parliament power to administer some of them at discretion. He even went a step further on the path of compromise, and reaccredited a Prussian representative at the Vatican; but though the exigencies of party warfare, as well as an honest desire to restore contentment to his Catholic subjects had induced the Emperor-King to make ample use of the discretionary and full dispensing powers conferred upon him by the Prussian Diet, the importunate cry of the Clericals was still for more. Not merely relaxation, but revision and repeal of the May Laws would only content them; and within the last few years they have gained many of the concessions for which they so stubbornly strove. Their bishops have been reinstated, some of their religious Orders have been allowed to return, the Church has reacquired some of its previous power over the training of its ministers, and, in fact, the May Laws are now little more than the ghosts of their original selves. Session after session saw some of their most stringent enactments go by the Board, the Emperor's Government complacently contenting itself with the avowal that, after all, it still retained sufficient power to secure the State from unlawful encroachments by the Church.

The truth is, the Emperor and his advisers had entered into a struggle with a power of which they underrated the resources—a power which proved to be all the more formidable as its forces were impalpable, and, in plain language, they got the worst of it. In the Imperial Parliament the patience of the Government had been utterly worn out by the dogged opposition of the Clericals, and Prince Bismarck began to see that the friendship of the Pope was at least equal to the alliance of a great Power—a friendship with which Germany could not afford to dispense. The political necessities of the Chancellor thus agreeing with the personal inclinations of the Emperor—who vowed that he could not die happy unless he made his peace with Rome—the process of reconciliation was carried on with all the persistence and thoroughness which ever characterised the co-operative doings of master and man, and the world was startled with the transformation effects that were thus produced. It wondered to hear of the Crown Prince being closeted with the captive of the Vatican, to see the Pope posing as the deeply revered and trusted arbiter between Germany and Spain in the matter of their dispute about the Caroline Islands, and to see a special envoy from Leo XIII. journey to Berlin on the occasion of the Emperor's ninetieth birthday, with the warm personal congratulations of His Holiness; to behold His Holiness enjoining upon the faithful in Germany to vote for the Army Law, which was to secure the Empire from the revengeful French; to witness the iron Chancellor and the Head of the Church exchanging their portraits with effusive assurances of mutual admiration; and to read of the Protestant Kaiser sending to the Pope of Rome a costly and magnificent mitre in recognition of the latter's jubilee.

These were results for which those who had applauded the Chancellor's vow that he "would never go to Canossa, either in body or in spirit," were not prepared; and there were many who lamented that William I. should thus, after all, have been made to demean himself by what looked like a cautious imitation of the penitential pilgrimage of Henry IV. But the Emperor's conscience itself was clear on this score, and he died in the firm conviction that, in repealing and mollifying the May Laws as he did, he but performed an act of clemency and justice to his Catholic subjects without impairing those principles

which underlie the emancipation of the nation from Papal *condominium*, and priestly rule.

THE EMPIRE AND THE SOCIALISTS

A favourite Clerical argument *in terrorem* has always been that the Kulturkampf, by temporarily depriving large numbers of the population of the blessings of religious ministrations, has contributed to the spread of infidelity and social democracy, with all their accompanying ills. Be that as it may, the legislative era of the Kulturkampf was scarcely over when the attention of the nation was directed in the most alarming manner to the rapid strides which Social Democracy had been taking since the foundation of the Empire.

On Saturday, 11th May 1878, as the Emperor, accompanied by his daughter the Grand Duchess of Baden, was driving along the Linden Avenue, he was twice fired at by a young man, almost at the very spot where, twelve years before, Blind had levelled his revolver at the breast of Bismarck. The assassin, who happily missed his aim, was found to be a journeyman tinsmith from Leipsic, Hoedel by name, whose thoroughly wicked and depraved character was in itself sufficient to account for his crime. But what gave it a grave political significance was the fact that this worthless character of his had served as a fertile soil to the seeds of those misunderstood principles of Lassalle and Marx which were beginning to be so popular among the working classes of Germany. Hoedel was a low, brainless miscreant, as incapable of comprehending the current jargon about labour and capital as Kullman was of understanding the real issues between the Pope and the Emperor; but it is, nevertheless, as certain that Hoedel was as much the product of Social-Democratic agitation as that Kullman was the outcome of Jesuit spite and Ultramontane fury. And this was what gave his crime its serious aspect. This was the third attempt that had been made on the life of the Emperor-King—once near Mayence, when, as Prince of Prussia, he had been sent to suppress the Revolution in Baden; the second time at Baden-Baden by the fanatical student Becker; and now there was great joy in the Fatherland when it became known that the beloved monarch had remained unscathed by Hoedel's bullets. But joy soon gave way to seriousness, and how to

deal with the movement which had produced one assassin and might be training a hundred more was now the question which occupied the public mind.

The danger was undoubted. Between 1871 and 1877 the number of Social-Democratic voters had risen from three to nine per cent, and the tone of their Press after the attempt on the Emperor became savagely defiant. His Majesty himself, who had a lively recollection of the troubles of 1848, believed that the revolutionary element in his dominions was beginning to regain the upper hand. What was to be done? Within a week after Hoedel had fired his pistol a Bill for coping with the dangers of Social Democracy had been laid before Parliament. The measure was a most serious encroachment on the liberty of the person and of the Press; but it soon appeared, in spite of the general roar of execration which greeted Hoedel's crime, that it had no chance of becoming law. It was not to be expected that the Clericals, who were groaning under repressive decrees themselves, would stultify their impassioned speeches about human freedom by helping to shackle a portion of their fellow-subjects, however bad or dangerous. To the Progressists, on the other hand, as the stiff-necked champions of political doctrinairism, it was vain to look for aid; while the National Liberals found it equally irreconcilable with their convictions to comply with the demands of the Government. The Bill was ably supported by the Conservatives, and by none more so than by Count Moltke, who, with the emphasis of a soldier, argued that the enemy must be engaged and beaten before he had time to do further harm. But in vain. On 24th May the measure was rejected by a majority of nearly 200 votes, and on the same day Parliament was prorogued.

The result was a bitter disappointment to the Emperor, and presently there occurred something to depress his spirits still further. A week after the rejection of the Socialist Bill, the "König Wilhelm" and the "Grosser Kurfürst," two of the finest ironclads in the infant navy of the Empire, were steaming down the Channel, when by some awkward manœuvre they came into collision off Folkestone, and the latter vessel was sunk, with its crew of nearly 300 officers and men. The Emperor took the disaster very much to heart. To his pious mind the hand of God seemed to be heavy on Germany, and he passed a couple of sleepless nights. One day, while suffering

from the combined impression produced by this great naval calamity and by the rejection of a measure which he deemed essential to the safety of his person and the stability of Government, he drove out alone. It was Sunday, the 2nd of June, and the Emperor's carriage had proceeded about half-way down the Linden Avenue towards the Brandenburg Gate, when he was twice fired at in rapid succession by some marksman, who aimed at his victim from a window overhead. This time the double shower of buckshot took effect, and, streaming with blood from neck and shoulder, the Emperor was driven home. On the assassin being at last seized—which he only was after, with a revolver in reserve, he had inflicted a cruel wound on one of his assailants and lodged a bullet, that afterwards proved fatal, in his own head—he turned out to be a Dr. Nobiling, aged about thirty, from the province of Posen.

If there was any doubt as to Hoedel's past, there could be none about the antecedents of Dr. Nobiling. Of middle-class parentage, he had enjoyed an academic education, and when at the University had already been known as the "Petroleur" and the "Communist." He had attended the meetings of Social Democrats, he had studied their writings, and in the year preceding the commission of his crime he had visited Paris, London, Switzerland, and Vienna, in order to establish a connection with the head centres of revolution. Like many of his countrymen, he was a despairing materialist of the extremist type; yet he was afflicted with what the Germans called *Grössenwahn*, or a consuming mania for being thought great.

The news of this second outrage flew like lightning all over Berlin, all over Germany, all over the world, and stunned like an electric shock. What was humanity coming to? The Press of Europe burst into one unanimous cry of horror and execration, and again from every quarter a flood of genuine sympathy came pouring into Berlin. The Crown Prince, who, with his consort, was on a visit to London—where, by the way, he had been the object of an insulting demonstration on the part of some German Socialists—hurried home, and was at once entrusted with the reins of power pending the recovery of his stricken father. About thirty pellets of buck and swan shot, not all of which could be extracted, had penetrated the Emperor's face, head, neck, back, and shoulders. Prince

Bismarck himself was confined to his bed at one of his country seats, but on hearing how His Majesty had been struck down he started up, forgetful of his own ailments, and hastened to the side of his Sovereign. His heart was strongly moved within him, he afterwards confessed, to see his beloved master lying in his blood, and he "vowed a silent vow to devote himself to his service, and think no more of resignation, whatever befell, till death should them part."

Bismarck entered on this new lease of service with characteristic energy. The Reichstag was at once dissolved. It was doubtful whether a Parliament which had already refused to ensure the internal safety of the nation at the premium of a little of its personal liberty would now, even under the influence of the horror produced by Dr. Nobiling's crime, depart from the professional principles it had previously maintained, and it was, therefore, at once sent about its business. Favoured by the prevailing excitement, the new elections resulted in the return of a much more Conservative Parliament. The electoral watchword of the Government had been, "Safety of the State, safety of society," and a Parliament, much more plastic apparently than its predecessor to the will of the Chancellor, met in September, about three months after the perpetration of Nobiling's crime, but before the horror and indignation produced thereby had lost the force of freshness. Its only task was to pass a law against the pernicious aims of Social Democracy, and after a month's very excited discussion it did so, though not exactly in the extreme form demanded by the Government.

The Government immediately began to make an unsparing use of the repressive power with which it had been entrusted, and which enabled it to suppress obnoxious publications of all kinds, dissolve suspected clubs and societies, and place the chief seats of anarchical agitation under a state of siege. The law of October 1878 was only to last until the end of March 1881; but it has been repeatedly renewed. As giving the police so much arbitrary power over liberty of action and freedom of speech, the Socialist Law was a most critical experiment, and even now, after a long trial, its efficacy has only been partial. The evils which it was meant to eradicate are less patent, perhaps, to the public eye, but they still exist in secret and exuberant strength. Social Democracy in Germany has been

disorganised, but by no means destroyed; and this fact is part of the heavy burden of government which devolves on the successor of William I.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF GERMANY

Within two months after receiving Nobiling's buckshot the Emperor, thanks to his splendid vital powers, was able to leave for Teplitz; in September he had so far recovered as to be able to mount his horse, with his arm in a sling, and manœuvre the Hessian troops; while in the beginning of December, amid the acclamations of the nation, he made a sort of triumphal entry into Berlin, and resumed the reins of government.

While the wounded monarch lay stretched on his camp-couch, a notable thing was occurring in his capital. Under the presidency of Prince Bismarck, representatives of the great Powers sat in Congress to adjust the results of the war between Russia and Turkey, and the German people were flattered by the thought that the name of their capital had been given to the treaty which secured the peace of Europe. The Emperor himself was intensely proud of the fact, and said that he now felt the wounds, which still kept him prostrate, less acutely. It was a fine thing to say, and it was truly meant. Nothing ever gave the Emperor greater pleasure than when he had been successful in compounding quarrels, whether of a public or private nature; and thus he felt in his element when appealed to in 1871 by the Governments of Great Britain and the United States to arbitrate between them on the San Juan dispute. Ever since the transference of the centre of international gravity from Paris to Berlin the main desire of the ruler of a strong and united Germany had been to avert war, not only against the Empire, but among its neighbours. And yet, unlike Napoleon, he claimed to be neither the "arbiter nor the schoolmaster of Europe," which the immense military force at his disposal might very well have made him. True to the programme set forth in his first speech from the Imperial throne, which so cruelly dashed the hopes of the Clericals, he always avoided the very appearance even of meddling with the affairs of his neighbours, a habit which none better than he knew had been the curse and ruin of France. The motto of the Emperor was "*toujours en vedette*," but his foreign policy

was always one of strict non-intervention, especially towards "our nearest and most interesting neighbours, the French," as Moltke once called them.

There is strong reason to believe that, after the Peace of Frankfort was signed, the Emperor would have preferred to see a monarchical *regime* of some kind or other supplant the Republic in France; but it is no less certain that, intriguing as he did for the fall of M. Thiers and the return of the Bonapartists, Count Arnim acted without even the implied assent of His Majesty, and in flagrant violation of Prince Bismarck's express orders. But

It is the curse of Kings to be attended
By slaves who take their humours for a warrant,

and the tragic story of Count Arnim may best be told by saying that he was the victim of such misapprehending zeal.

We have said that, as one of the results of the Franco-German War, the centre of political gravity on the Continent was at once transferred from Paris to Berlin. No statesman could henceforth afford to trim his sails without consulting the diplomatic weather report on the Spree. As after the Peace of Paris the nations vied with each other in courting the friendship of France, so, when the Treaty of Frankfort had been signed, an alliance with the Emperor William was thought to be something very well worth seeking by most European Sovereigns. The powerful Emperors of Russia and Austria were the first political suitors. Francis Joseph came to Berlin to say that he frankly recognised the results of the Seven Weeks' War; while the Tsar Emancipator was also minded to show that he still cherished the traditions of the Holy Alliance, and that the ties which united the Courts of St. Petersburg and Berlin were not merely those of kin. But, indeed, there had already been sufficient evidence of this. Prussia had remained neutral during the Crimean War, had helped her northern neighbour to suppress the Polish insurrection, and had made no serious remonstrance when Prince Gortchakoff tore up the Black Sea Treaty, in return for which favours, partly done and partly promised, Russia not only remained neutral herself during the conflict of 1870, but also prevented Austria from slipping her dogs of war on the back of struggling Germany.

But Prussia had now become Germany, and the Sovereigns of Russia and Austria found it expedient to readjust their relations to the remodelled Power. The meeting of the three Emperors at Berlin in September 1872, with its conferences, its feastings, its exchanging of orders, its balls, its embracings, and its military parades, was the Continental event of the year; and what stamped it with undoubted political meaning was the fact that the chief Ministers of their Majesties—Prince Bismarck, Prince Gortchakoff, and Count Andrassy—were also present, and had frequent interviews. Europe, of course, began to puzzle itself about the real significance of the event, but Prince Bismarck took an early opportunity of satisfying public curiosity, without going into details. "The friendly meeting of the Emperors," he said, "will strengthen the confidence of our friends in the preservation of peace, and show our foes how hard it will be to break it." This explanation was afterwards completed by the Russian Chancellor, who remarked that "the best thing about the meeting was that nothing had been reduced to writing."

Nevertheless, the tacit alliance of the three Emperors, or *Dreikaiserbündniss*, as it was called, continued to be the fact dominating the political dynamics of Europe until the Russo-Turkish War occurred to throw it somewhat out of joint. The Pope, of course, sneered at the meeting as a "merely human Arcopagus whereof one member (the Emperor William) was a declared enemy of the Church"; but Europe, at least, was content to regard it as a pledge of peace and as a very pregnant hint to the prophets of revenge in France. In the spring of the following year the Emperor (taking with him Bismarck and Moltke) returned the Tsar's visit; and the autumn found him, also with his Chancellor, at Vienna (during the Universal Exhibition), where he was most enthusiastically received—so soon do feelings of political expediency outweigh the bitterness of defeat and the rancour of revenge. Even the Shah in the early summer of 1873 (and again in 1878) journeyed to Berlin to visit the aged Monarch, the fame of whose army and Empire had already taken root far beyond Teheran; but a much more honoured, because a much more important, guest at Berlin in the autumn of 1873 was King Victor Emmanuel. It was thought that the conscience of his Italian Majesty was not altogether clear as regarded his attitude to the war of 1870;

but now that there was talk of the Comte de Chambord unfolding the lily banner as Henry V., which might possibly be borne against Italy as the expropriator of the Pope, the *Re Galantuomo* deemed it prudent to repair to Berlin to embrace and drink the health of his "old ally," who had conquered for him Venetia and Rome on the sanguinary fields of Koniggratz and Sedan.

King Victor Emmanuel was accompanied by his Ministers, Minghetti and Visconti-Venosta, who conferred much with Prince Bismarck, and the signal distinction with which His Majesty was received by the Emperor was no less eloquent to the French than exasperating to the Pope, whose next *Kulturkampf* anathema bore unmistakable signs of his impotent spite. Germany had already shown how highly she valued the friendship of the Italian people, her Parliament on the very eve of the French war having voted a sum of 10,000,000 marks to subsidise the building of the St. Gothard Tunnel—a railroad route which would unite the two countries without passing either through France or Austria. The presence of Victor Emmanuel in Berlin acted as another link of connection between the two nations, and the chain was thought to be completed by the Emperor's return visit to Milan in the autumn of 1875 (Francis Joseph had been to Venice in the spring), when he was received with such extraordinary honour and enthusiasm that, as he wrote to the Empress, "he had never in all his life seen anything like it." The imagination of the Italians was fired by this meeting between the first Emperor of reunified Germany and the first King of regenerated Italy, and they drew vivid parallels between the triumphal entry into Milan of the peaceful *Barba Bianca*, as they called the gray old monarch, and the time when the Teutonic chivalry of Kaiser Red-beard carried terror and devastation into the plains of Lombardy.

The example of Italy in seeking the friendship of the Empire was imitated in the course of the next ten years by Sweden, Servia, Holland, Belgium, sad, defeated Denmark, whose Sovereign visited the Court of Berlin, and ambitious Spain—anxious to rank as a great Power—whose young King Alfonso was treated with much distinction at Homburg in September 1883. Rarely, indeed, did the Emperor manœuvre his splendid troops in the autumn of every year without a few European sovereigns to add brilliancy to his suite; and even the European orbit of the King of the Sandwich Islands was

deflected towards the German capital by sheer attractive force of political gravity.

But nothing was more remarkable than the "dead set," so to speak, which the Sultan made at the favour of the Emperor William, the only one of the European Sovereigns who, while professing to be his "friends," never sought to enrich himself with a slice of Ottoman territory. Yielding to his political wooer on the Bosphorus, the Emperor exchanged high orders with the Sultan, and sent military and civil officials to reform his army and his administration; but the troubles in Egypt proved to Abdul Hamid that friendship is never more sincere than when it is honest and impartial. If, indeed, the Emperor William showed any partiality during the Egyptian Campaign it was towards England, on whose friendship he always set an exceptionally high value. Nothing ever gave His Majesty greater pain than the transient estrangement between the two countries which resulted from the misunderstandings consequent on the sudden revelation of Germany's intentions to become a rival colonising Power; and nothing ever gave him greater pleasure than when the glorious traditions which centre round the name "La Belle Alliance" were restored to their former brightness about the time when Queen Victoria celebrated her Jubilee. On this occasion the Emperor was represented in London by his son, his grandson, and his great-grandson--his three heirs in direct succession to the throne, and the German Press only reflected the feelings of His Majesty when it descanted on the ties of dynasty of common origin, of common struggle, and of common aspirations which fitted the two nations to be close natural friends and "weapon-brothers."

Since the first meeting of the Three Emperors the Tsar came repeatedly to Berlin, and scarcely an autumn passed without bringing together Kaiser William and Francis Joseph at Teplitz or Gastein; but no serious politician ever thought of connecting these interviews with unpeaceful purposes. In France, it is true, schemes of aggression were frequently imputed to Prince Bismarck and his master; and once even--in 1875--a regular war scare was excited by the cry of "Wolf!" But perfect success always crowned the foreign policy of the Emperor, which was shaped with a main eye to France, and which aimed at depriving her no less of every cause of quarrel than of allies who might help her in maintaining it when found.

The Russo-Turkish War was a trying event for Germany, but to the firm and impartial attitude of the Imperial Government was due in no small measure the restriction of the conflict to the dimensions it actually took. The Emperor William did all he could to avert the war, but he was careful not to carry his mediatorial offices either in St. Petersburg or in Constantinople so far as to incur the charge of dictatorial interference; and during the conflict itself his attitude was one of strict neutrality. Austria, of course, was much more closely affected by the war; but even had Austria been forced to take the field in defence of her interests, it is more than probable that Germany's sword would still have remained sheathed, for her difficulty would have been France's opportunity. The Tsar undoubtedly expected, as an exact equivalent for his restraining services in 1870, that Germany not only would remain neutral herself, but also prevent Austria from operating on his right flank; yet it is very doubtful whether, had the case arisen, his expectations in this respect would have been fulfilled. "Do not," said Bismarck to Gortchakoff during the Berlin Congress, "do not compel me to choose between you and Austria."

The Treaty of Berlin was signed in July 1878, and before a year had elapsed it became quite plain that the edifice of peace had been erected, among other things, on the ruins of the Triple Alliance. The German Chancellor had offered his services to the Powers as an "honest broker," and was held by most of them to have acted as such; but in the Treaty of Berlin the disappointed Russians saw nothing but the work of German perfidy and ingratitude. The Pan Slavist and Anti-German party in Russia gained the upper hand at Court; the Press indulged in vehement outbursts against Germany, and proclaimed that "Constantinople must be conquered in Berlin." Prince Gortchakoff began to angle for a French alliance, while Grand Dukes made ostentatious visits to Paris; and, to crown all, threatening numbers of Russian troops were massed, or were at least believed by the Germans to be massed, on their eastern frontier. These several phenomena had the effect of producing great irritation at Berlin, and a war between the two Empires began to be looked upon as inevitable.

But that Germany, at least, still remained true to her peaceful and unaggressive policy the Emperor resolved to show, and begged an interview with the Tsar, which took place on the

3rd of September 1879, at Alexandrovo, a small town on the eastern side of the Russo-German frontier. "Thank God, peace is again secured," exclaimed the Emperor on leaving Alexandrovo. He had succeeded in convincing the Tsar of the continuance of his own personal friendship, and in removing false impressions from the mind of his Imperial nephew. The Emperor had gone to Alexandrovo of his own accord, and even, it is said, against the will of his Chancellor, who had meanwhile been equally active in his efforts to secure for his country the blessings of peace. He went to Gastein and conferred with Count Andrassy; he went to Vienna, and was treated with high distinction by Francis Joseph, and he returned to Berlin with the treaty of an Austro-German defensive alliance, by which the contracting parties mutually guaranteed the integrity of their territory with their continued existence as great Powers. The meeting at Alexandrovo had been mostly of a personal nature; the conferences at Gastein and Vienna were purely political. At the touch of the master's wand the *tableau vivant* of the European States had suddenly undergone a startling change. The two great military Powers of Central Europe were now seen standing back to back, with ready hands on sword hilts, but defence, not defiance, plainly printed on their visages, while insulated Russia looked surprised, and checkmated France pensive.

Though the experience of the last few years had shown the Emperor that two are company and three none, it was only with the greatest reluctance that he consented to ratify this fresh bargain of Bismarck and to relinquish a political partnership of a century's standing; but the forcible representations of his Chancellor left him no choice. Russia felt helpless with a sense of her complete insulation; but the Emperor William took repeated opportunities of soothing her sensibilities by the assurance that the object of his alliance with Francis Joseph was purely defensive, and that it need not disturb the personal relations between the Courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg—which have always had a political effect—he strove to show to Alexander III. at Dantsie in the autumn of 1881. The removal of the Panslavists from power under the new Tsar helped to bring about a better mutual feeling in both countries, and by the beginning of 1884 the diplomatic relations between Germany and Russia had resumed such an affectionate form as to prepare

Europe for the meeting of the three Emperors with their Chancellors at Skierniewice in the autumn of that year.

It is as little known what was the exact result of this interview as of the return meeting between the Tsar and Francis Joseph at Kremsier in the following autumn (1885), which only the growing infirmities of the Emperor William "prevented him from attending in body but not in spirit." Yet if in going to Skierniewice His Majesty's main object had been to promote a more cordial understanding between his fellow sovereigns, the outbreak of the revolution in Bulgaria, which followed so hard on the Kremsier interview, proved that he had undertaken a task as praiseworthy as it was hopeless.

The Bulgarian revolution, with its consequent troubles, the kidnapping of Prince Alexander, and the subsequent course of events in the young Principality, all brought to light the existence of a serious antagonism between the interests of Austria and Russia on the Danube which the most "honest broker" and peacemaker might well despair of reconciling, and which no Imperial interviews could wholly reason away. Last year the tension became most serious after the adoption of Prince Ferdinand as their ruler by the Bulgarians, and a sharp polemical strife between the German and the Russian newspapers was accentuated by the Tsar's marked avoidance of an interview with his Imperial uncle at Stettin. Afterwards, however, the estrangement so far as it was personal was removed; the Tsar visited Berlin, where he was splendidly welcomed by the Emperor, and where he had an explanation with the Chancellor, which, it was hoped, replaced the relations of the two Empires on a friendly footing.

But it soon became clear from the publication of the text of the Austro-German Treaty that the policy of Germany was in no way altered, that she remained in the strictest alliance, as Prince Bismarck subsequently stated in the Reichstag, with Austria-Hungary, and that Italy had joined this earlier pact, with the object of preserving the *status quo* in Europe against any ambitious or restless Power. This "League of Peace," which was publicly proclaimed after Signor Crispi's visit to Friedrichsruh in the autumn, is the last great political achievement of the Emperor William's reign, and it remains the dominant fact in the European situation in spite of the desire both of the Emperor and of Prince Bismarck to avoid a breach

with Russia. The Emperor William and his great Minister devoted themselves to the task of preserving the peace and conciliating conflicting interests and clashing susceptibilities with an anxiety equal to the gravity of the issues at stake, well knowing that, though Bulgaria was mere "Hecuba"—as Bismarck phrased it—to Germany herself, yet that France's opportunity would come were Germany forced (as forced she well might be) to take the field in order to save her ally from disaster. In general, the foreign policy of the Emperor William aimed at isolating France, at humouring Russia while remaining true to Austria, and at the same time at reconciling the conflicting interests of these two Empires—with what success is so far known.

THE EMPEROR AND THE ARMY

Such, then, is a brief outline of the policy by which the Emperor William successfully sought to secure his new-born Empire against danger from without ; and we have also seen how he endeavoured to cope with the main causes of internal peril—Papalism and Social Democracy. For the rest, the energies of his Government were wholly devoted to the organisation of Imperial institutions and to the work of domestic legislation. Of Imperial institutions, by far the most sacred and important in the eyes of the Emperor was the army—at once the symbol and safeguard of the national unity. Frederick the Great won his victories with a military force which he had inherited from his father. William I. had himself to make the tools with which he built his house. The creation of the Prussian army had been the employment of his youth and early manhood ; its perfection would be the work of his old age ; and he declared that he would not die contented if this, "his main life-task," were unachieved. "What we have won in half a year with the sword we must defend for half a century with the sword," said Germany's great strategist, and his words were warmly approved by the Emperor, who himself believed, and experience has proved him right, that a "strong Germany is the best pledge of the peace of Europe."

Surrounded, like no other State, with jealous, revengeful, and untrustworthy neighbours, Germany could not possibly avoid remaining armed to the very teeth. She had the choice of two evils. It was highly probable that her own armour

might crush her, but it was at least quite certain that if she did not arm to an almost ruinous extent she would very soon be crushed by others. In any case, seeing that Germany is and always, or until at least the millennium dawns, must remain in the position of a besieged fortress, it seemed to the Emperor above all things necessary that the strength of her garrison should not depend upon the varying whims of the hour, or, in other words, that the army should be withdrawn as much as possible from the influence of Parliament, and become a strong and steadfast bulwark against foreign attack amidst all the fluctuations of domestic politics. The Reichstag was, therefore, asked to fix the peace establishment at the permanent rate of one per cent of the population, thus entailing on the country in perpetuity a standing army of considerably over 400,000 men.

In Germany the dread of home despotism has always been less than fear of the foreigner; nevertheless, Parliament—split up into fractious parties ill representing the general sense of the nation—would not at first listen to such a proposal in spite of a powerfully persuasive speech from Count Moltke which created a great sensation all over Europe. The Emperor himself openly avowed to his generals that the splendid military and political success which had ultimately crowned his resistance to the Prussian Landtag between 1862 and 1866, and proved him to have been in the right, now encouraged him not to yield to the Reichstag; and there ensued a crisis which threatened to end in a return of the Conflict time. From this, however, the country was saved by the enlightened patriotism of the National Liberals, in whose hands lay the balance of party power, and who offered to support the Army Law on condition of its being at first limited to a period of seven years. By the advice of his Chancellor and his generals the Emperor accepted this compromise, but he only did so reluctantly.

First voted in 1874, the Military Septennate, as it is called, was renewed in 1881, and again in 1887 (with a considerable increase—40,000—in the army), after the opposition of the Reichstag had been triumphantly broken by an appeal to the electors based on an avowed and reasoned fear of France. Indeed, the political condition of Europe and the state of public feeling in Germany will have to undergo a very marked change before there is any likelihood of the Septennate being refused. This unique institution, which increases the national security at

the expense of a little of the popular power of budget control, virtually gave the Emperor and his successors command of a permanent standing army of about half a million men, who could be joined in a week's time by twice as many trained soldiers; but even then the German army is only the third strongest in Europe. What, however, it lacks in numbers it possesses in efficiency, and to a widespread belief in this efficiency must be ascribed the fact that peace upon the continent of Europe was so long, if, perchance, so reluctantly, preserved.

After the army, the main object of the Emperor's solicitude was the navy. To see Germany provided with a fleet capable of defending her coasts at home and vindicating her interests abroad was what he earnestly wished before he died. The Frankfort Diet had squabbled so much about the maintenance of a North Sea Fleet that at last, in 1852, the rotten old vessels composing it had to be brought under the hammer. Prussia then began to form the nucleus of a German navy, which in 1871 only numbered forty-eight various vessels, mostly of small size, with 380 guns. What she would have done had the French attacked her by sea as well as land, heaven only knows. The Emperor-King was resolved that such an opportunity should never again be presented to his foes. His Government set to work with a will, and by 1883 the Imperial Fleet consisted of 108 various war ships, carrying 518 guns, all of the newest construction, and a crew of over 12,000 men. The Emperor watched the development of his naval power with intense pride, and it more than once happened that from manœuvring an army corps, which foreign critics pronounced to be unsurpassable in drill and discipline, His Majesty stepped on board an *ariso* at Dantsie, Kiel, or Wilhelmshaven, and steamed out to sea to witness the evolutions of an ironclad squadron which had already made so much progress in naval tactics as to avoid the blunders which sent the Grosser Kurfurst to the bottom of the English Channel.

It was no small satisfaction to the Emperor that his grandson, Prince Heinrich, the rising hope of the Navy, had repeatedly sailed round the world, and returned with assurances of increasing respect everywhere for the national flag and name produced by Germany's naval power. The piratical Chinese, the South Sea Islanders, the savages of the West Coast of Africa, the civilised inhabitants of Nicaragua have all been taught what it

is to plunder or insult the subjects of the Empire ; and when, shortly before the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War, the German Consul at Salonica was murdered, a formidable squadron was at once despatched to that port, while Bismarck telegraphed to the Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople : "Germany's Emperor demands instantaneous satisfaction. . . . In the event of refusal we shall know how to take measures for upholding the dignity of the Empire." "Our enormously expensive fleet," thought the German people, "is not too dear after all."

THE EMPEROR AND HIS CHANCELLOR

The organisation of the army and the creation of the navy were matters in which the Emperor took a personal and directing interest. In other internal questions he was content to leave the initiative to his Chancellor and Ministers. Unlike a great many of his subjects, perhaps, indeed, the majority of them, the Emperor never doubted that Bismarck had as much a genius for domestic affairs as for diplomacy ; and he, therefore, continued to put as much trust in the means by which his Chancellor proposed to consolidate the Empire as he had in those by which he created it. But, even in this latter respect his confidence had often been blind. "*Mein alter Herr*," said Bismarck once, "*ist stets überredet, wenn nicht überzeugt gewesen*"; i.e. "I have always been able to talk over, if not to convince, my old master." Thus it was, for example, both at the beginning and the end of the campaign of 1866. It was with the utmost difficulty that Bismarck persuaded the King to draw the sword on Austria ; and afterwards it was only by a threat to resign that he induced His Majesty to desist from his determination to annex Bohemia as part of the war indemnity. "I will rather abdicate," said the King in a spirit characteristic of Frederick the Great, "than return without a considerable acquisition of territory to Prussia." Again, after the war with France, Bismarck advised the King not to insist too much on the annexation of Lorraine as well as Alsace, so as to deprive the dangerous fire of revenge of a double and long-enduring store of fuel ; but here His Majesty, backed by Moltke and the military party, was inexorable.

It has always been popularly supposed that one of the most difficult tasks of the Emperor was to curb and reduce the Hot-

spur and impetuous spirit of his Chancellor ; but, indeed, there is much to show that the virtues of wisdom and moderation were sometimes more on the side of the man than of the master, and if the former ever went unwittingly astray the latter was much more likely to follow than to put him right. Indeed, in later years the Chancellor had acquired such an amazing ascendancy over the mind and will of the Emperor that, in all but military matters, the former was looked upon, and rightly so, as the real ruler of Germany. No Sovereign was ever more popular, more revered, and more beloved of his subjects than William I. ; but the name of no Sovereign was ever less on the lips of his subjects when anything affecting the welfare of the nation was under discussion. Not what the Emperor thought, but what the Chancellor meant to do, was the only question asked ; for every one knew that the will of the Chancellor would at last prevail. And woe to any one, no matter who or what his station, who crossed it.

During the first twenty years of Bismarck's tenure of power no fewer than twenty-four Ministers of various kinds quitted office, most of them on the usual plea of "ill-health," which everybody knew to be a mere euphemism for bad behaviour. Even the Emperor could not prevent their fall, and all he could do to mollify it was to send the victim of his Chancellor's displeasure a kindly letter of thanks for past services, with a high decoration, and wish him health and prosperity for the rest of his honourable days. What Bismarck had compelled so many of his colleagues to do, he frequently threatened to do himself, and his "requests for leave to resign" gradually came to form part of the regular machinery of government. The Emperor was at first startled, and wrote an emphatic "Never!" on the margin of one of the earliest of these petitions ; but he soon became accustomed to them, and cheerily disposed of them by simply asking his Chancellor what he wanted now. Then the Prince would at once achieve his will—the dismissal of a Minister, the recall of an Ambassador, or the dissolution of a Parliament, and the nation, relieved from the horrible anxiety of another "Chancellor crisis," breathed freely and was happy again.

Never did the Emperor more cordially approve, or seem to approve, the action of his Chancellor than when the latter led the nation into what is called the era of economic reform, with

its return to a stringent Protectionism, its nationalisation of railways, its tax-reforms, its accident assurance schemes, its tobacco monopolies, its biennial budgets, and other approved and rejected prescriptions for the health of a State which suffers acutely from the poverty of its blood and the weight of its armour. Regarding himself, like Frederick the Great, as only the first servant of the State, the Emperor became sincerely anxious to improve the lot of the poorer classes, especially when he saw that Social Democracy with all its public dangers, was in part, if not wholly, the direct outcome of their depressed condition. The remedies which Prince Bismarck proposed to apply went far to warrant the statement that the greatest foe of the Social Democrats had become the greatest State-Socialist of the age ; but the nation rejected most of the economic medicines offered it, nor would it believe that its rulers knew better than itself what was good for it. And when its chief political doctor became the object of much popular abuse, and was accused of a desire to drug the country the better to work his despotic will upon it, it was touching to see how the Emperor-King interposed a manifesto, in January 1882, between the Chancellor and his furious critics, claiming the direct initiative of all the acts of his Ministers, and reminding his forgetful subjects that the Crown itself was still by far the most important part of the machinery of Constitutional government. It is difficult for old men to assimilate young ideas, and perhaps the political character of William I., as German Emperor, were best described by saying that to the last he continued to act and think like a King of Prussia.

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Perhaps the most striking trait in the character of the Emperor was the simplicity of his manners and habits. Military in most things, he was in this respect a thorough soldier. He slept on a couch which had more in common with the bed of a penitentiary than of a palace. When not entertaining guests his table was most frugally supplied. He was very moderate in the use of wine, and indulged not at all in tobacco, setting an example in the latter respect which very few of his subjects could bring themselves to imitate.

And simple as his habits were his beliefs. He made no

pretensions to that humanitarian enlightenment which would supply the place of revealed religion. In an age when rationalism was rampant, and when many of his educated countrymen wandered very widely from the fold, he himself still clung with touching devotion to the simple faith of his forefathers. The more orthodox any preacher, even though plebeian in his manners and addicted to Jew-baiting, the more likely he to become a Court chaplain. Like the founder of his royal line, William I. placed the Crown upon his own head in token of the divine right of kings. Even among kings themselves the belief in this doctrine is becoming rarer, but the steadfast religious convictions of the Emperor William saved him from the danger of being classed with these apostates, and prove that piety and politics are much more intimately connected than is generally supposed. The piety, indeed, of the deceased Emperor was one of his chief characteristics, and betrayed itself in most he said and did, in his prayers, his church attendance, his war despatches, and his speeches from the throne. Some of his telegrams from Bohemia and France read like King David's psalms of thanksgiving for triumphs over the Philistines. In all the victories which made Germany one, he beheld the finger of the God of Hosts; and on each of the occasions when his life was attempted he ascribed his escape to heavenly intervention. It was thus, too, that he invariably drove about in an open carriage without an escort, believing Divine favour to be much more effectual protection against the bomb or the bullet of the assassin than any encompassing cloud of cavalry. "And yet it was of no use," said His Majesty sadly on hearing that the Tsar Alexander had been struck down, despite the vigilant cordon of Cossacks within which he furtively hurried through his own Nihilist-infested capital.

No less regular than simple were the Emperor's habits. As became the Commander-in-Chief of the most efficient army in the world, he was the pattern of punctuality. Every hour, every day, every season of the year brought its appointed round of duty and recreation. From His Majesty's occupations in Berlin men could set their watches, and from his movements throughout the Empire easily tell the position of the sun in the zodiac. Save when a war took him into the field and broke the even tenor of his life, his existence was one monotonous and rigorously-executed programme. Gifted in a high degree with

the chief characteristic of his subjects—a capacity for plodding—he accomplished by method tasks which would have fretted the patience of genius. Method, indeed, was his ~~simulant~~ ^{secret}, was the secret of his longevity; and whenever he fell ill his physicians used to tremble with apprehension lest the sudden interruption of his habits of sustaining routine should produce a fatal effect.

There are many public buildings and monuments that will lastingly commemorate the long and glorious reign of William I. In 1873 the Emperor himself unveiled the Victory Column at Berlin dedicated by a “grateful Fatherland to the Army” whose three victorious campaigns had made Germany one; while in 1877 he laid the foundation of the huge National Monument overlooking the Rhine on the edge of the Niederwald, and in 1883 he unveiled it amid circumstances of pomp and ceremony which invested his act with the character of an historical event. Again, in 1875, in presence of 40,000 spectators, at a time when his struggle with Rome was at its height—significant moment—he unveiled a colossal statue of Arminius, near Detmold, in the Teutoburger Wald, in view of the spot where “Hermann the German,” with his Teutonic warriors, exterminated the invading legions of Varus; and in 1880 he witnessed the completion of Cologne Cathedral—an architectural symbol of German unity, a splendid triumph of German art. At Berlin in the summer of 1884—in the presence of all the magnates of the Empire—he laid the foundation-stone of a splendid building to serve as the meeting place of the Imperial Parliament; while three years afterwards he inaugurated the stupendous undertaking which is to connect the Baltic and the North Seas by a canal available for the heaviest German war vessels afloat, and thus virtually double the naval strength of the Empire in either of its great arsenals—Wilhelmshaven and Kiel. These imposing monuments of stone and brass will long endure, but they are not likely to outlive the traditional fame of the monarch whose reign they mark.

For of no Sovereign did the throne ever so much consist of the hearts of his people. To say that the Emperor-King William was respected, honoured, and beloved by his subjects is only half the truth. He was simply adored by them. It is not too much to say that the number of busts, photographs, portraits, medallions, and other mementoes of the Emperor

throughout Germany is greater than the number of Bibles. His great age, with the character of his acts and the deeds of his mighty Galadins, which the vulgar imagination made no great effort to distinguish from those of their lord, had combined to invest him in later years with something like the halo of a mythical hero.

It was hard to say whether he was more beloved as a monarch or as a man. In Prussia, with all its constitutional forms, the royal office is anything but a figurehead function; it is still a living dignity of power; and the Prussian people still put more trust in their Kings than in their Parliaments. It was at once a proof of the love he enjoyed as a man and of the confidence reposed in him as a ruler that he could visit no part of his dominions without the certainty of being rained upon by bouquets and begging letters. The suitor whose heart was nearly broken by the law's injustice or delay; the crippled old soldier whose poverty was ignored by parochial despots; the mother who wanted a pardon for her erring son—all got their petitions ready and waited for the coming of the King. Nor did he, by any of his actions, ever shake the deep conviction of his subjects that he was the pure fountain of honour and of justice. That the King could do no wrong was in Prussia less a constitutional fiction than a popular belief. Even during times of hot political conflict he never became the object of personal abuse.

It was a rule of Parliament that His Majesty's name should never be dragged into debates. The nation felt bound by the ties of deep personal gratitude to the Sovereign who had done so much for it. It grudged not the festive pomp and military display which made his Court one of the gayest and most brilliant in Europe. It was greatly pleased to see him hold so long with rigid evenness the scales of war and peace in Europe; its vanity was flattered to think that his capital was visited by soldiers from all parts of the world—from Turkey and Greece, and China and Japan, and the uttermost islands of the sea—eager to become students in the high military school of his creating. It was proud to have as a ruler the grand old man who was a physical wonder to all; who was so homely yet so dignified; so kindly, so just, so cheerful, so chivalrous, and such a perfect gentleman; who had lived to celebrate his golden wedding, his eightieth anniversary of service in the army, his

ninetieth birthday, to be surrounded by a troop of great-grand-children, and to take into his arms the third heir in direct succession to his throne.

It is melancholy to be compelled to add that the Emperor's last days were darkened by the shadow of a cruel domestic calamity. The Crown Prince was stricken down in the flower of his age by a terrible and mysterious malady, and for some months has been under treatment at San Remo for a form of throat disease suspected to be cancerous. This sorrow, aggravated by the possibility that it may encourage the ambitious disturbers of European peace, weighed on the spirits of the aged Sovereign, and perhaps impaired his power of fighting with all the vigour of a robust and well-tempered constitution against the effects of accumulated years and the approach of death.

William I. was not intellectual in the strict sense of the word; his mental outfit was not nearly so ample as that of his predecessor; but he was endowed with sound good sense, which is perhaps rarer than pure brain power, and which at least achieved far greater results than the intellectualism of his royal brother. His mind was much more adapted for details than generalities, but one of his greatest merits was that he had an instinct for discovering, and a self-effacing faculty for retaining, men whose high and brilliant qualities were the complement of his own. His reign has been one of wonders, but its greatness somewhat resembles that of our own Elizabeth, whose glory was largely derived from the shining galaxy of genius that surrounded her throne. Although the Emperor William I. had personal virtues which history will not readily forget, his best and, let us hope, most lasting monument will be the German Empire.

LEADING ARTICLE, SATURDAY, MARCH 10, 1888

"The great Emperor who founded Germany's unity is dead." In these words the President of the German Reichstag gave simple but faultless expression to the universal sentiment of the German people towards the veteran hero who yesterday passed to his rest. We can find no better words to express the feeling of the whole civilised world concerning an event of world-wide significance and interest. The future political effects of the

death of the first Emperor of united Germany need not be dwelt on to-day. It is the event itself, and the great career of which it is the impressive close, that occupy all men's thoughts to the exclusion, at any rate for the moment, of cold calculation concerning the political future. The greatest career of our modern days has come to an end, in the fulness of time, it is true, but in the midst of circumstances so suggestive of sorrow and compassion as to give a fresh significance to the familiar but immortal words of the Roman poet, "*Sunt lacrymæ rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.*"

Such a death at such a time impresses the whole world with the tragedy of human things. But it has other lessons to teach, and the contemplation of the Emperor William's life and character brings with it much instruction and consolation. He was, and this is how men will always remember him, "the great Emperor who founded Germany's unity." There have been other German Emperors in past times whose fame in history may possibly be adjudged to be greater than his. But he is the only Emperor who has ever succeeded in making Germany a united nation. The very length of his days, extending from the tragic flight of his mother after Jena to more than eighteen years after the proclamation of the Empire at Versailles, and comprehending within its experience all the political vicissitudes of a century now fast drawing to its close, gives to his achievements an epic unity for which no parallel can be found in modern history.

The Emperor William has witnessed and taken part in the overthrow of two Napoleons, and has twice been present at the conclusion of a victorious peace in the capital of Germany's hereditary foe. He has seen Prussia rise, first from the overthrow of Jena, and afterwards from the humiliation of Olmutz, and he has placed her, with the willing consent of the German people, at the head of a united nation. When he ascended the Prussian throne Prussia was hardly counted by her neighbours as more than a second-rate Power. The Prussian capital is now the acknowledged centre of European politics, and the political influence of Germany knows no superior in Europe. This is the great achievement of the Emperor William's life, and this is his title to the everlasting fame which history accords to those who make nations.

The whole public career of the late Emperor was inspired

and dominated by single-minded devotion to the welfare of Prussia and the unity of Germany. For this he devoted himself from his earliest years to the punctual discharge of every public duty, for this he made himself a soldier and shared the dangers and privations of his beloved Prussian army, and for this, when he ascended the throne, he resolved to sacrifice everything, even for a time the goodwill and confidence of his own subjects. He was a soldier before everything, and his political ideas and methods were inspired by a soldier's sense of discipline and obedience; but his mind was not, perhaps, naturally of a warlike cast. He loved peace better than war, and he was never so happy as when he could act as a peacemaker either in public or private affairs. But he knew that his lot was cast in a time which required the actual ruler of Prussia and the future ruler of Germany to be a soldier before everything. He recognised from the first that a lasting peace for Germany was only to be secured at the point of the sword, and for this reason he instinctively chose as his agents and ministers men who shared his ideas and had the genius to realise them.

It is often thought by hasty political observers that the unity of Germany was exclusively the work of Prince Bismarck, and that the Prince's Imperial master was only the instrument of a policy which he had not himself conceived. A perusal of the full Memoir of the late Emperor's life which we give elsewhere will show, we think, that this is really a superficial view. German unity was not the work of one man, but of many, and of these the late Emperor, though not perhaps the greatest, was always the centre and the chief. He alone knew and appreciated the profound and far-sighted policy which induced Prince Bismarck in the days before 1866 to set under foot all the constitutional formulas and precepts which impeded the development of Prussia's military strength. He stood by Prince Bismarck against all his adversaries and braved unpopularity for his sake, not because Prince Bismarck had acquired at that time the ascendancy over his mind and policy which he exercised in later years, but because long before Prince Bismarck had become his Minister he had conceived the idea of making Prussia great, and of establishing her hegemony in Germany by making her force respected.

It would be idle to say he was ever the great Chancellor's

equal in statecraft. He would have claimed no such supremacy for himself. But he knew from the outset what it was he wanted.^b It was not his own aggrandisement, but the aggrandisement of Prussia and the unification of Germany that he desired to achieve ; and though he may not have foreseen as clearly as Prince Bismarck did how the end was to be attained, or how much it would cost him and his people to attain it, yet he never doubted that the work must be done by the sword, and that the sword must be forged with the utmost labour and tempered with the utmost skill if it was to be equal to the work. Hence it was that the Emperor chose a soldier's career for himself. Hence it was that he scorned delights and lived laborious days in making the Prussian army the finest military weapon that the world has ever seen. Hence it was that he twice placed himself at the head of his army, took the field at the call of patriotic duty, and manfully risked everything at the hazard of war, in conflict with two of the greatest military Powers of Europe.

The result of those two campaigns has changed the face of the Continent, and altered the course of its history for many generations to come. It has made Germany a united nation and placed Prussia at its head. It has completed the regeneration of Italy, emancipated Hungary, and recalled Austria to the path of liberal progress. It has deposed France from her pride of place in Europe, and exploded the Napoleonic tradition. Above all, it has given the Powers of Europe peace among themselves for eighteen years, and so strengthened the public confidence in Germany's desire for peace, and Germany's power to maintain peace, that even the death of the Emperor who achieved all this cannot seriously shake it.

If this were not so, the anxious and sorrowful circumstances which attend the devolution of the German Imperial Crown would inspire universal misgiving. In any circumstances the death of such a man as the Emperor William would impress the world as a great historical event. The passing away of a man who has made so much history, who has filled so long and so well a great place in the eyes of the world, is one of those rare occasions which unquestionably mark an epoch. But in the actual circumstance it fills the world with a feeling of compassion so universal and so poignant as almost to sink its historical aspects in its personal interest.

Prince Bismarck formally announced yesterday in the Reichstag that the Imperial dignity had passed, in accordance with the Constitution of the German Empire, to His Majesty Frederick III., King of Prussia. By this title, therefore, will the late Emperor's eldest son, the Crown Prince, henceforth be known. It is unhappily impossible to greet the new Emperor with feelings of unmixed congratulation, for apart from the sorrow which must overwhelm such a son at the loss of such a father, the Emperor Frederick, as all the world knows, is himself sorely stricken with a painful malady, which has prostrated his strength and gravely imperilled his life. It behoves us, therefore, to offer our heartfelt sympathy to the German nation, both in its mourning for the death of its late Emperor, and in its anxiety for the health and life of his successor. These feelings are universal to-day throughout the civilised world; but no nation outside the German Empire can desire more earnestly that the new Emperor may enjoy such happiness as is possible to him and such length of days as Providence may vouchsafe to him than that which is ruled by the mother of his noble and devoted wife.

But the first thoughts of all men will be given to day rather to the dead than to the living. The death of such a man as the Emperor William compels us to think of the past rather than of the future. As we meditate on a career so full of personal, historical, and dramatic interest, we are almost compelled to ask ourselves the question, What is its central and most instructive lesson? It is the same as that of the life of our own great soldier, and the late Emperor himself gave prophetic expression to it many years before most of those who survive him were born. "To be an indefatigable learner and striver for the good of my country shall be the one aim of my public life." So he wrote as a youth in an essay presented to his father on the occasion of his confirmation.

The late Emperor was not a man of genius, nor was he in any way specially remarkable for intellectual gifts. Prussia has had more than one Sovereign of greater intellectual capacity. But his character was grave, earnest, and invincibly upright, his piety was deep, simple, and unaffected, and love of his country was his one absorbing passion. He had a keen sense of duty and an invincible devotion to it, a clear perception of his country's interest, and he possessed the hereditary gift of the

Hohenzollerns—that of recognising capacity when he saw it, and of choosing and supporting the men who could do the work which Germany wanted done. These were the qualities which made him “the great Emperor who founded Germany’s unity,” and no man can consider the magnitude of the work he achieved without recognising the real greatness of the qualities which enabled him to achieve it.

MATTHEW ARNOLD

OBITUARY NOTICE, TUESDAY, APRIL 17, 1888

WE deeply regret to record the death of Mr. Matthew Arnold.

He was the eldest son and second child—the eldest being Mrs. W. E. Forster—of the Rev. Thomas Arnold, D.D., and was born on 24th December 1822, at Laleham, near Staines, where his father was at the time taking private pupils. In 1827 Dr. Arnold was appointed to the Headmastership of Rugby, and thither the family migrated in the following year. From this time down to the year 1845, when Matthew Arnold was elected Fellow of Oriel, the story of his life is best told in the words of one who was his constant companion throughout those years :

“For some years previously to 1836, Matthew Arnold was under the care of the Rev. J. Buckland, the brother of the celebrated geological professor and Dean of Westminster, who kept a flourishing private school at Laleham. The astonishingly copious repertory of school-boy slang which the future poet brought home with him at the commencement of his first holidays, and poured into the ears of his brothers and sisters in the schoolroom at Rugby, is still within the recollection of some of them. On entering Winchester, in August 1836, he was put at once in ‘Senior Part,’ and was consequently under Dr. Moberly. An unfortunate remark made to the doctor at a breakfast where he and several of his form-fellows were present, relative to the light character of the work which they had to do, being ill-naturedly repeated, caused him to incur much unpopularity in the school, and he was subjected to that singular form of ostracism known as ‘cloister-peelings,’ when the victim was

led out before the whole school, and exposed for some minutes to a rain of 'pontos,' round missiles made of the crumb of new bread.

"But this unpopularity soon passed away, and when he was adjudged to have obtained the palm of rhetoric over the whole school by his declamation of the last speech of Marino Faliero in Byron's drama, every one was well pleased. It had never been his father's intention to leave him at Winchester longer than was necessary to make him familiar with a system which had woven itself into the very nature of the elder man; and in the summer of 1837 Matthew Arnold was removed from Winchester and entered at Rugby. Several uneventful years followed, during which he worked his way nearly to the head of the school, obtaining an exhibition in 1841.

"Before this, in November 1840, he had won the open scholarship at Balliol College with great *éclat*, but was permitted to postpone the period of his coming into residence to the autumn term of the following year. His first rooms were on the second floor of the corner staircase in the inner quadrangle. His perfect self-possession, the sallies of his ready wit, the humorous turn which he could give to any subject that he handled, his gaiety, exuberance, versatility, audacity, and unfailing command of words made him one of the most popular and successful undergraduates that Oxford has ever known.

"In his first academical year he won the Hertford scholarship, given by the University for proficiency in Latin. He won the Newdigate, the subject being 'Cromwell;' in the final schools he was disappointed, and only obtained a second class. In 1845 he was elected Fellow of Oriel, just thirty years after the election of his father. Dean Church, Dean Burgon; Fraser, the late Bishop of Manchester; Buckle, now Canon of Wells; Earle, the present Professor of Anglo-Saxon, and Arthur Hugh Clough were among his colleagues at the then famous college. It was the year in which Newman, himself a Fellow of Oriel, after long deliberation took the final step and seceded to Rome. The intimacy of Matthew Arnold with Clough was of the closest character. During all the early part of 1846 Clough used every Sunday to entertain at breakfast a small party of friends, consisting of Matthew, his brother of University, and Theodore Walrond."

Clough himself Arnold always loved, though he cared little for his poetry ; and their friendship, as all readers of English poetry know, received its final seal in the exquisite elegiac poem of *Thyrsis*—that poem which Mr. Swinburne has placed by the side of *Lycaidas* and *Adonais*, and which contains the very spirit of the Oxford of those days.

Matthew Arnold never felt any desire for the life of a college tutor, and, indeed, such a career was at that time almost impossible except under the condition of Holy Orders, and these he was not disposed to take. An opening in London presented itself two years after his election, in 1847, when the late Lord Lansdowne, the veteran Whig leader, offered him the post of private secretary. He was thus transplanted to the very centre of political and social life in London, but it is evident that neither politics nor society absorbed him, for it was in the next year (1848) that there appeared the now famous little volume, *The Strayed Reveller, and other Poems, by A.* Here the note was struck which vibrated to the last through Mr. Arnold's poetry and through much of his prose ; here was a sensibility and an inward experience intensely modern, expressed with a luminousness and a perfection of form that was purely Greek.

Three years after the appearance of the *Poems by A.* Mr. Arnold married the daughter of Mr. Justice Wightman, and, as he lately told the Westminster school teachers, when they made a presentation to him on his retirement, it was in consequence of his marriage that he left his private secretaryship and accepted the post of Lay Inspector of Schools. In the interval he worked for a short time as assistant master at Rugby. At that date, as is well known, the State organisation of elementary instruction was but just beginning ; the antagonism between the Church schools and the Dissenting schools was still acute, and it was even necessary to have separate staffs of inspectors for the one and for the other. Mr. Arnold had assigned to him what were called the British Schools, under which short title the schools of the British and Foreign School Society were known ; and it was in travelling about the country examining these schools that he learnt his business and formed besides those views as to the nature of British Nonconformity and of the mental and moral horizon of the middle class to which in later years he often gave so trenchant an expression. His work as a school inspector—which, it may here be said, only ceased two

or three years ago—was laborious, and few of those who have been charmed and consoled by his poetry, or stimulated and amused by his prose, have reflected that what they were reading was produced in the intervals of drudgery such as, it might be thought, would have sufficed to dull the edge of genius.

And here we may pause to say something of Matthew Arnold's strictly professional work as a school inspector and as a reformer of education. The most direct outcome of it is to be found where few people outside the official circle have ever looked for it—viz. in the Annual Reports published by the Committee of Council on Education. In those Blue-books it has been the habit to print a certain number of the most striking reports annually sent in by the school inspectors, and among these a large number were written by Arnold. It need not be said that these reports of his are excellent reading, and that they abound in telling phrases and in piquant statements of opinion. More than this, they are full of wisdom; of views based upon wide observation and solid reflection, of pleas for the steady and practicable improvement of elementary education. They hold up a high ideal, but one which an observation of what has been done in other countries had shown the writer to be attainable. For, as is well known, his educational work was not confined to inspecting the schools in his own country.

In 1859, when the public conscience had begun to be seriously stricken with respect to the state of our primary schools, and when such a measure as was afterwards brought into being by Mr. Forster had begun to loom before the minds of statesmen, Mr. Arnold was sent abroad as Foreign Assistant Commissioner to inquire into the state of education in France, Germany, and Holland. Six years later he went again with a special mission to inquire into the state of middle-class education abroad, and in 1867 a volume appeared embodying his investigations into this subject. These professional tours had an immense effect upon his mind. They gave him an answer to the question how to make the English middle-class less contented with commonplace ideals, or, in the phrase which he was the first to make popular, less Philistine. He never till the end of his life ceased from efforts to carry into practical effect his desire to get our middle-class education, our secondary

schools, better organised. It was to his mind the one crying want of English civilisation. He traced to the chaotic condition of our middle-class schools by far the larger part of the moral, social, and political faults which, with all his love for England, he could not help seeing in her. "*Porro unum est necessarium!*" he cried, and that one thing was to be education for the middle-class, organised as well as the education for the working class is now organised, and as well as middle-class education itself is organised in Germany and in France. "Schools for the licensed victuallers, schools for the commercial travellers, schools for the Wesleyans, schools for the Quakers—to educate a middle-class in this way is to doom it to grow up on an inferior plane, with the claims of intellect and knowledge not satisfied, the claim of beauty not satisfied, the claim of manners not satisfied."

One of the chief causes of his discontent with English party government was the fact that both parties alike thought the organisation of secondary schools no business of theirs. The Conservatives would not undertake it, and "at this hour," wrote Mr. Arnold a few years ago, *apropos* of an article of the Liberal leader, "in Mr. Gladstone's programme of the twenty-two engagements of the Liberal party there is not one word of middle-class education. Twenty-two Liberal engagements, and the reform of middle-class education not one of them!" It is one of Mr. Arnold's chief titles to the regard of his countrymen that in spite of the indifference of party leaders he continued to the end to press, with all the force of exhortation and of irony of which he was master, for this most penetrating of all reforms.

It is time, however, to turn from this aspect of Mr. Arnold's work to those achievements by which he is and will continue to be most widely known—his achievements in literature. The *Poems by A.* made a profound impression upon the very limited class of readers who cared for scholarly poetry. In 1853, five years after the appearance of the first little volume, he published *Empedocles on Etna, and other Poems*, but in a very short time, becoming dissatisfied with the poem that gave its title to the book, he withdrew the volume from circulation, so that it is now, as all bibliophiles know, extremely rare. Next year he published in his own name a new volume of poems, partly new and partly selected from those issued already, and a second series followed soon afterwards. The impression made by these

in academical circles was so great that in 1857 he was elected to a Chair which he was destined to raise to a position of greater importance and influence than it had ever reached before—the Chair of Poetry at Oxford. Next year appeared *Merope*, a tragedy after the Greek manner, which was in itself perhaps not quite successful, but which gave him the opportunity of writing a preface that contained one of the most valuable expositions of the principles of criticism ever produced in England. Then followed the *Lectures on Translating Homer* and the *Last Words*, in both of which he put forward his plea for the English hexameter. That plea has not generally been allowed, but every one who heard the lectures, or has since then studied those scarce little volumes, was struck with the breadth and the enlightenment of their tone, at that time so new to English criticism.

The *Essays in Criticism*, a collection of articles and lectures, appeared in 1865, twenty-three years ago. How faintly does the young writer of to-day, to whom its methods and maxims have almost unconsciously become the commonplaces of his literary education, realise all he owes to that modest little volume! But as one traces back the stream of thought, as one recalls Hazlitt and Leigh Hunt and Macaulay, as one thinks of the older *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh* and the lumbering conscientiousness of the *Retrospective Review*, one gradually becomes aware of all that the essays and their successors have done for us.

The critic, by that book, acquired a new dignity and importance. It both enlarged his functions and abated his pretensions. Thenceforward criticism, among those who aspired to any eminence in it, was to be a much humbler and sincerer thing than it had been in the omniscient days of Jeffrey and Croker; and at the same time it was to deal with a wider world than that of which Lamb or Hazlitt had had knowledge. "A disinterested endeavour to learn and propagate the best that is known and thought in the world"—so Mr. Arnold originally defined his task, and his whole literary life has been an effort to fulfil it. The essays themselves were an adequate comment on such a definition. To many persons even of the reading class such studies as those on Joubert, on Eugénie and Maurice de Guérin, or on *The Literary Influence of Academies*, were a revelation. "All can grow the flower now, for all have

got the seed." But twenty-five years ago Mr. Arnold by such work opened new worlds of thought and feeling to those who had eyes to see and ears to hear; he taught us sympathy with fresh and varied forms of thought, and so made us think for ourselves in a fruitful way. He bade us shake off convention, and see "the thing in itself," without prejudice and without conceit, personal or national. And, on the way, what beauties of perception and style, what felicities of manner! Who that has read it will easily forget the address to Oxford—"home of lost causes, and forsaken beliefs, and unpopular names, and impossible loyalties"—which closes the preface, or the translation of Maurice de Guérin's *Centaur*, or the summing up of Heine and Byron with which the Heine article ends, or the delicate truth and originality of all that moral observation in which the Joubert essay abounds! To look at these passages again is to understand, even apart from Mr. Arnold's poems, what Sainte-Beuve meant when five or six years before he drew the attention of the French public to a young English writer, "dont le talent réunit la pureté et la passion."

Mr. Arnold was of course re-elected at the end of his five years, and at the end of ten many were the complaints in Oxford that the statutes did not permit a "third term." More than once, as vacancies occurred in later years, efforts were made to induce him to come forward as a candidate once more, but by that time he had made himself, or believed that he had made himself, unpopular with the clergy, and he shrank from the danger of what he used to call "an odious contest." So he never stood again, and though he now and then lectured at the Royal Institution, in provincial towns, and during two visits to America, Oxford knew him officially no more. But he loved Oxford to the end; "that sweet city" which he celebrated in *Thyrsis* and in the famous preface to the essays always continued to exercise her spell upon him, and he was interested to the last in watching the part that she played in the life of England, in the men who were conspicuous in her colleges, in the books that she produced, in the "movements" which from time to time passed over her.

But after he ceased to be Professor of Poetry the subjects of his critical writing underwent a change. He would not have been his father's son had he not been profoundly interested in religion; he would not have been the open-minded critic that

he was had he not seen that upon many classes in modern England religion was losing its hold. Therefore he set himself to consider whether a way might not be found of preserving what was essential in religion while giving up whatever modern criticism had shown to be untenable. His fastidious taste revolted against the crude attempts of some modern reformers of religion, and in what we believe to have been his earliest writings on these subjects, certain articles published in *Macmillan's Magazine*, he dealt rather unmercifully with the mechanical methods of Bishop Colenso. His own views he expounded some ten or twelve years later in the book called *Literature and Dogma*; in its successor, *God and the Bible*; and in 1877, in the volume of collected papers called *Last Essays on Church and Religion*. It is remarkable that the latest but one of his writings was an article in the March number of the *National Review* on disestablishment in Wales; so impossible did he find it to keep his hand and his pen from touching subjects of pressing ecclesiastical or theological interest.

Mr. Arnold must be pronounced to have been much less successful as a theologian than as a critic and a poet. Undoubtedly his own object was to preserve the Bible against the consequences of a purely destructive criticism. But to many he seemed to destroy the substance of religion, while he preserved merely a kind of aroma or tradition. Even those, however, who deplore his rejection of dogma, and see a lamentable want of logic in his argument, can admire the spirituality of his work, and the salutary manner in which he constantly dwells on the importance of "conduct" in life. It is a tribute to the wide effect produced by his principal work of this class, *Literature and Dogma*, that many of the phrases with which it abounds have passed into common speech, although much of its metaphysics is more than questionable, and the Hebrew scholarship of this and the other volume is avowedly second-hand.

We have reserved to the last Mr. Arnold's work in poetry—that work which is represented by the five or six little early volumes so dear to collectors, or by the two volumes of *Complete Poems* issued in 1876, or by the three volumes, containing these and fortunately a few more recent verses, which Messrs. Macmillan published two or three years ago. It is worth while here to quote a judgment written twenty years ago by a brother poet, a judgment of which it is easy to discount and to pardon

the enthusiasm, and which, after all, tells the truth, if it tells it too forcibly. "For some years past," wrote Mr. Swinburne, "the fame of Mr. Matthew Arnold has been almost exclusively the fame of a prose-writer. Those students could hardly find hearing—they have nowhere of late found expression that I know of—who with all esteem and enjoyment of his essays, of the clearness and beauty of their sentiment and style, retained the opinion that if justly judged he must be judged by his verse and not by his prose—certainly not by this alone; that future students would cleave to that with more of care and of love; that the most memorable quality about him was the quality of a poet. Not that they liked the prose less, but that they liked the verse more. His best essays ought to live longer than most, his best poems cannot but live as long as any, of the time."

The statement that comparatively few of Mr. Arnold's readers cared for his poetry was quite true in 1867; it is less true now, though it would be inaccurate to say that he is a popular poet. His muse is too austere, the subjects with which he deals are too remote from the ordinary superficial interests of the many. But to a certain number of readers he has as a poet a place apart; a place in the inmost shrine of their affections. To them the early poem *Resignation*, with its Wordsworthian severity, its air of bracing moral freshness, as though newly blowing from the Westmoreland fells; to them *Dover Beach*, with its noble music and the grave stoicism of its tone; to them *The Strayed Reveller*, with its magical realisation of the Greek spirit, *The Sick King in Bokhara*, and *Sohrab and Rustum*, which profess to be pictures of the mysterious East, and are so much more; to them *Heine's Grave*, *Rugby Chapel*, the *Lines written in Kensington Gardens*—all these are among the most precious, the most abiding gifts that any modern mind has bequeathed to the English race.

But it is invidious to name some poems and leave the others. When, some ten years ago, Mr. Arnold made a "selection" of his own poems for the *Golden Treasury* series, and when his friends complained to him of the omission of one or other of their favourites, he laughingly answered, "Of course, if I had consulted my own taste I should have inserted everything." And, indeed, he would not have been far wrong; for so carefully modelled and welded are his poems, so sincerely are they

felt, that there are hardly a dozen among the whole that one could wish away.

Mr. Arnold was personally one of the most charming of men. On first acquaintance, indeed, there was something in his manner which might set matter-of-fact people against him ; but if they were sensible they soon got over what was in reality purely superficial. His geniality and kindness of nature, his tolerance, his humour soon won their way ; and hence there were few men who had more or warmer friends. Even the egotism of which readers who did not know him used to complain was, for the most part, a rhetorical device ; and where it was not, it was so frank, so good-natured, that it was soon forgiven. No one could be more missed in London than he, though for many years he had not actually lived in London. While his boys were growing up he lived at Harrow, that they might go to the school ; of late years he occupied a pretty cottage at the foot of Pain's Hill, near Cobham. He loved the country ; he had a strong affection for animals (who does not remember his poem *Grist's Grave* ?) ; and his love for flowers was keen. In all family relationships he was admirable ; and it may be of interest to mention that a vast number of letters from him to various members of his family are in existence, which are full of the personal and the literary charm that attaches to the best of his writings.

THE EMPEROR FREDERICK III.

OBITUARY NOTICE, SATURDAY, JUNE 16, 1888

FREDERICK WILLIAM NICHOLAS CHARLES, eighth King of Prussia and second German Emperor, whose pathetic reign of three months came yesterday to a close, was the only son of the Emperor William I. and the Empress Augusta, daughter of the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar. Thirty years before his father came to the throne, he was born in the new Palace of Potsdam on the 18th of October 1831, the anniversary of the battle of Leipzig. All the princes of Prussia were early trained in arms, and "our Fritz," who was destined worthily to keep alive the military fame of the royal house, was no exception to the rule. At the age of seven and a half years he presented himself to his father as a trained recruit, and made the following announcement: "Report from Potsdam sentinel. Nothing fresh from outpost on watch. Its strength is one sub-officer, one bandsman, and eighteen grenadiers." On his tenth birthday, in 1841, the Prince entered the Colonel's Company of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards as second lieutenant. His uncle, King Frederick William IV., in introducing the new second lieutenant to his regiment, said, "You are a little fellow, Fritz, but you must pay attention to these gentlemen, so that some day you may be able to inspect them as they now inspect you." Prince Frederick William's first tutor was the Rev. W. Godet, of Neuenberg, who was succeeded by the eminent scholar and historian Dr. Ernst Curtius of Lubeck. He subsequently completed his education at Bonn, and in September 1848 made his confession of the Evangelical faith in the chapel of the Castle at Charlottenburg. On the 3rd of May 1849 the young Prince

was incorporated by his father into the Colonel's Company of the 1st Foot Guards. Prince William, as he then was, made a touching address to his son's future comrades on this occasion, and then, turning to the youth, observed, "And for you, I would covet that you may some day experience what your father has experienced before you. The highest joy of my life has been to feel that in times, however hard, remote, or near, the confidence and sympathy of my subordinates have never been denied me. It is that joy which I desire for you. Go ; do your duty." When the Prince came of age, on the 18th of October 1849, being then eighteen years old, he received numerous addresses from Berlin, Potsdam, Brandenburg, etc. In reply to a deputation of magistrates, he replied that the lofty pattern that had been set him by his ancestors could not fail to teach him, if ever he should hold the sceptre, to be a just and true King. After studying at Bonn, in 1849-50, he travelled through Switzerland, the Tyrol, the north of Italy, and the south of France.

In 1851 the Prince visited England for the first time. He was cordially welcomed by Her Majesty the Queen and the Prince Consort, and became acquainted with his future bride, the Princess Victoria, then a graceful and winning girl of eleven. The royal visitor remained nearly a month in England. After his return to Berlin he was promoted to the rank of captain, "with the special commendation of His Majesty for zealous service" ; and in the course of a few months he visited St. Petersburg, where he became deeply interested in the exercises of the Russian Guards. In November 1853 we find him admitted by his father to the Berlin Order of Freemasons. At this time he was closely studying the art of war under Moltke, and was gradually rising in the ranks of the Prussian army. The close of the year saw him in Rome, where he had an audience of Pope Pius IX. Being ordered to serve with the dragoons, his commander, Colonel von Griesheim, had interviews with the Prince's mother, who did not allow her maternal love, or her anxiety to ensure his personal comforts, to stand in the way of his duty ; on the contrary, she begged that the Colonel would in no way unduly spare the Prince, but insisted upon his learning his profession in every branch, so that he might know the actual labours and duties of a soldier's calling. In all this Frederick William but followed his father's example.

In 1854 he was appointed a member of the Commission to test the Minié rifle, and shortly afterwards he was nominated to the command of the 2nd Landwehr Guards.

The Prince again visited England in 1855, and before he returned had become betrothed to our Princess Royal. He won golden opinions from all with whom he came in contact for his straightforwardness and candour, and his absolute freedom from prejudice. The Queen thus wrote in her "Journal" respecting the betrothal, the Court then being at Balmoral: "September 29.—Our dear Victoria was this day engaged to Prince Frederick William of Prussia, who had been on a visit to us since the 14th. He had already spoken to us on the 20th of his wishes; but we were uncertain, on account of her extreme youth, whether he should speak to her himself, or wait till he came back again. However, we felt it was better that he should do so, and during our ride up Craig-na-Ban this afternoon he picked a piece of white heather (the emblem of 'good luck'), which he gave to her; and this enabled him to make an allusion to his hopes and wishes as they rode down Glen Gironch, which led to this happy conclusion." There was a strong attachment on both sides, and Prince Albert, in a letter to Baron Stockmar, observed: "The young people are passionately in love with each other, and the integrity, guilelessness, and disinterestedness of the Prince are quite touching."

The condition of things in Prussia at this time was extremely critical. The reactionary party were strongly in evidence, and the Prince Consort trembled for the destruction of a burdened constitution. After Prince Frederick William's return to Berlin, Prince Albert wrote him a letter full of excellent suggestions and advice as to the bearing he should adopt towards the people during the constitutional struggle. This letter bore good fruit in strengthening the liberal sentiments of the Prince, and in animating him with a desire to understand the true principles of government.

In company with Von Moltke, the Prince was present at Moscow on the 12th of August 1856, as the representative of the Prussian royal house, on the occasion of the coronation of the Emperor Alexander. Upon his return to Berlin he was present at the marriage of his only sister, the Princess Louise, with the Grand Duke Frederick of Baden. In the following December he visited the Emperor and Empress of the French.

at the Tuileries, and in letters written by his illustrious hosts we have personal glimpses of the Prince at this time. "The Prince pleased us very much," remarked Napoleon, writing to Queen Victoria, "and I have no doubt he will make the Princess Royal happy, as he seems to me to possess every quality fitted for his age and position." The Empress Eugénie, in a letter to Countess Walewski, thus referred to the Prince and his companion, the great German strategist: "The Prince is tall and handsome, almost a head taller than the Emperor; he is slight and fair, with a straw-coloured moustache, a German (as Tacitus might describe him) of chivalrous courtesy, with something of the Hamlet about him. . . . His companion, a General Moltke (or some such name), is a taciturn gentleman, but by no means a dreamer, and, being perpetually on the lookout, takes one by surprise with his pointed remarks. They are an imposing race, these Germans. Louis calls them the race of the future. *Bah! nous n'en sommes pas encore là.*" Little could the writer imagine that within fourteen years from that time the two men thus described would play such an important part in the destruction of the French Empire.

There are many who will remember the interest evoked by the marriage of Prince Frederick William of Prussia with the Princess Royal of England. This happy event was solemnised in the chapel of the historic palace of St. James's on the 25th of January 1858. The youthful bride was given away by her father, and the ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishops of London, Oxford, and Chester, and the Dean of Windsor. It was the first break in the Queen's family. The wedding day was observed as a holiday all over the United Kingdom; bells were rung, flags were hoisted, and there were great rejoicings in every city, town, and hamlet, throughout the length and breadth of the land. The bride and bridegroom left England on the 2nd of February, and on the 8th made their public entry into Berlin. For some days congratulations continued to pour in upon the young couple from every part of the Prussian kingdom.

In 1861 William I. ascended the throne of Prussia, and Frederick William, becoming Crown Prince, naturally took a more prominent part in public affairs and public ceremonies. He was sworn in a member of the King's Council, and he also had a seat upon the commission for the reorganisation of the

army. In 1862 he came over to England to represent Prussia at the opening of the International Exhibition, and was associated with the Duke of Cambridge as one of Her Majesty's representatives at the maugural ceremony. He spoke at the Royal Academy banquet, and referred with great satisfaction to the fact that his wife, the Princess Royal of England, was one of the foremost representatives of British art in Germany.

In May 1863 Prussia was in the throes of a constitutional crisis. King William and Prince Bismarck were pursuing a drastic policy, and among other measures which caused great dissatisfaction a stringent decree was issued against the Liberal newspaper press. This arbitrary action led to a temporary estrangement between the King and his son, whose views were shared by his royal consort. The Prince addressed a letter to his father, remonstrating against the unconstitutional course which the King and his Government were pursuing. This he followed up on the 3rd of June by a formal protest addressed to the Cabinet against the decree affecting the Press, which he declared to be "both illegal and injurious to the State and the dynasty." At Dantsie, in reply to an address from the municipality, he spoke in a similar spirit, whereupon the King demanded a disavowal of his reported sentiments, on pain of his being recalled to Berlin and deprived of his military command. The Prince replied that he could not retract his speech ; that he was obliged to make as courageous a stand for his future as his father was making for his own ; and that he was ready, if required, to lay down his commission in the army and resign his seat in the Council of State. "If I am not allowed to speak my mind I must naturally wish to dis sever myself entirely from the sphere of politics." The storm blew over, and domestic legislation in Prussia was soon overshadowed by the war with Denmark. The Crown Prince went through the Danish War, which arose out of the disputed succession to the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. He was present at the battle of Duppel and at the subsequent operations of the Prussian and Austrian forces, which resulted in the defeat of Denmark after a gallant, but very unequal, struggle. On his return to Berlin he was nominated to the general command of the 2nd Army Corps. In June 1865 the Crown Prince, as Governor of Pomerania, received the King in the old marketplace at Stralsund, the occasion being the fiftieth anniversary

of the dependence of New Pomerania and Rugen upon the State of Prussia.

Having on many occasions given proof of his military capacity, the Crown Prince was shortly to be entrusted with a command calculated to test to the uttermost all his administrative abilities and his warlike ardour and energy. The struggle for supremacy in Germany had long been impending between Austria and Prussia. Diplomacy failed to compose the differences which arose out of the disputed occupation of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. But although this was a main ostensible cause of the war, the real reason lay in the rivalry subsisting between the two leading German Powers. Ultimately Prussia withdrew from the Germanic Confederation, and by that step virtually declared war against Austria. On the 12th of May 1866 the whole of the Prussian army was called out, and the Crown Prince was placed at the head of the Second Army, forming the left wing of the forces in Silesia. He was also appointed General of Infantry and Military Governor of Silesia during the continuance of hostilities. The King of Prussia drew up the Bohemian army in three divisions—the first marching through Saxony under Prince Frederick Charles, the second covering Silesia under the Crown Prince, and the third, or army of the Elbe, being placed under General Herwarth von Bittenfeld. The Crown Prince was directed to march through the long and narrow passes of the Sudetan mountains, leading from Silesia into Bohemia.

In order to deceive the enemy, various movements were made by the Prussians on the south-east frontiers of Silesia, as if their object was to cross into Bohemia from Neisse, by way of Weidenau. But while the Austrians were expecting the invaders to debouch in that direction, the mass of the Second Army turned to the right and suddenly made its appearance on the west at Nachod and Trautenau in Bohemia, having passed the frontier without opposition. Before entering the defiles of the mountains which separate Silesia from Moravia, the Crown Prince issued from Neisse a spirited general order to his troops, defending the course of Prussia, and expressing the pride, "as the King's first servant," which he felt in staking his life and his fortune to secure the possession of all that was dearest to his country. The Crown Prince fought victorious engagements at Trautenau and Nachod, coming up to the latter place at a

critical moment in support of General Steinmetz. Fighting proceeded until the 29th of June, and on that day the Prince and his army pushed forward as far as Skalitz and took possession of the town. On the 1st of July the Crown Prince issued from Prausnitz a general order, in which he recapitulated the glorious events of the brief campaign. The soldiers under his command had done all that was expected of them, and had captured 5 colours, 2 standards, 20 guns, and 8000 prisoners.

The great battle of Sadowa, or Koniggratz, the crucial engagement of the war, was fought on the 3rd of July. The Prussian advance commenced at eight o'clock A.M. with the whole line of the First Army, and before this was well engaged it was joined by the army of the Elbe. Prince Frederick Charles's division was compelled to hold out for four or five hours with the aid of the Third Army alone, and at one o'clock the reserves had to be called up to the Prussian centre. The Austrian fire was terrific, and affairs became critical. The "Red Prince," like Wellington at Waterloo, looked anxiously for his Blücher in the person of the Crown Prince. Another hour of severe tension ensued, and then at two o'clock the Second Army appeared on the field, after a difficult march. The heights of Chlum, the key of the situation, were stormed and captured by the Prussians, and other positions succumbed to their impetuous attacks. The opportune arrival of the Crown Prince gave the victory of Koniggratz to the Prussians, after one of the most sanguinary engagements of modern times.

The Crown Prince thus wrote concerning this memorable day in his diary: "After much search and many inquiries we found the King; I informed him of the presence of my division on the battlefield and kissed his hand, whereupon he embraced me. For some time we could neither of us speak; he was the first to find words, and said how rejoiced he was that I had had such good fortune, and had shown my capability as a leader; he also stated that (as his telegram must have already informed me) he had conferred upon me the Order of Merit for my victories. That telegram I had never received, so it happened that on the very battlefield in which I had shared the victory I received from my royal father our highest award for military service. I was deeply affected, and even the bystanders seemed

moved." King William subsequently wrote a letter to his son, congratulating him upon the great victories won by the Second Division, which had given it a place of high renown in the annals of the Prussian army. Shortly after the close of the struggle, the Crown Prince was appointed President of a Military Commission of Inquiry, appointed to analyse and formulate the experiences of the war.

Early in October 1869 the Crown Prince took leave of the King at Baden-Baden, previous to proceeding by way of Vienna to the East to attend the opening of the Suez Canal. He was accompanied by Prince Louis of Hesse and attended by a brilliant suite. After brief sojourns at Vienna, Venice, Athens, and Constantinople, he pursued his journey towards Egypt by way of Rhodes and Jerusalem. On the 4th of November he entered the ancient capital of the Jews, and in the name of his royal father formally took possession of the ruins of the former Hospital of the Knights of St. John and of the church attached to it, which the Sultan had ceded to the King of Prussia. The spectacle, seen from the Mount of Olives, of the sun setting over Jerusalem, appears, to judge from his diary, to have specially affected and impressed the princely traveller. Lebanon, Damascus, Jaffa, and Beyrout were all visited by the Crown Prince, and on the 17th he reached Suez, where he found the Emperor of Austria and the Empress of the French. After the inaugural ceremony and a journey up the Nile, he intended to return to Berlin, but went on to Cannes in consequence of the illness of his youngest son, Prince Waldemar.

The great Franco-German War, which had long appeared inevitable, broke out in July of the next year. Its final cause was the candidature of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen for the Crown of Spain, which France regarded as detrimental to her interests, and which she called upon Prussia to repudiate. Her demands upon the German Power were accompanied by humiliating requisitions which the King of Prussia peremptorily declined to comply with, and on the 19th of July war was declared by the French Government. Events proved that for this momentous struggle Germany was thoroughly prepared, while the French military system ultimately broke down in disaster and defeat.

The Prussian forces were distributed in three armies. The first, or right wing of the entire force, was under the command

of General von Steinmetz; the second, or centre army, was commanded by Prince Frederick Charles; and the third army, consisting of the armies of the South—viz. those of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden—and of the 5th, 6th, and 11th North German Corps, was commanded by the Crown Prince. The whole number of the three armies amounted to about 450,000 men.

The first great military triumph of the war was won by the Crown Prince, whose movements were as rapid as they were effective. On the 4th of August His Imperial Highness, at the head of some regiments of the 5th and 11th Prussian and of the 2nd Bavarian Army Corps, surprised at daybreak a division of Marshal MacMahon's army, under General Douay, posted at Wissembourg on the Lautre. The Germans, who possessed the advantage of numbers, stormed a strongly intrenched position at the point of the bayonet, in face of mitrailleuses and chasse-pots, and put the French to rout. General Douay was killed, and 18 officers and 1000 soldiers were taken prisoners.

This German success was followed up two days later by the great battle of Worth, when the Crown Prince, on his further advance towards the passes of the Vosges, encountered the main body of MacMahon's army, under the orders of the Marshal himself. The French were not in full strength, though they had a splendid position. The ground was desperately contested for fifteen hours, but the engagement ended in a great German victory. The French dead and wounded numbered 10,000; and 2 standards, 6 mitrailleuses, 30 guns, and 6000 prisoners fell into the hands of the enemy. Napoleon could not conceal this serious defeat, but he telegraphed to Paris, "*Tout peut se rétablir.*" So far from recovering themselves, however, the French forces were doomed to further and still greater disasters.

By the 11th of August the Crown Prince had passed the Vosges mountains, and effected a junction with the First and Second German Armies. Success continued to attend the German forces, and the 2nd of September saw the French capitulation at Sedan, with the surrender of the Emperor Napoleon. In the memorable engagements which culminated at Sedan the Crown Prince's troops and those of Prince Frederick Charles were engaged against the greater part of MacMahon's forces, and the Germans succeeded in crossing the

river Meuse, this extremely difficult operation being effected by the Crown Prince with his Prussians and Wurtembergers, supported by the Bavarians under General von der Tann.

The expectation that the war would cease after Sedan proved to be vain, as the French continued the struggle under the guidance of the Republican Government and its most active member, Gambetta. At Rheims, on the 6th of September, the Crown Prince put forth, under the sanction of the King, a national and well-considered scheme for establishing a benevolent institution for the support of the disabled soldiers of Germany. On the 20th the headquarters of the Third German Army were established at Versailles, the abode of Louis XIV. A few days later the Crown Prince made a distribution of the Iron Cross in the Grand Court of Versailles, delivering an address in tones so distinct that they were heard everywhere throughout the courtyard. The highest military dignity of Prussia, that of Field-Marshal, was conferred by King William upon his soldier son on the 28th of October. The King took the opportunity afforded by the fall of Metz and the surrender of the second great French army to grant this distinction to the Crown Prince, and it was the first time the title of Field-Marshal had ever been borne by a prince of the reigning line.

In his difficult position as commander of a large army the Crown Prince never failed to draw out the love and enthusiasm of his men. His Imperial Highness was present at that memorable scene in the Palace of Versailles on the 18th of January 1871, when King William became the head of a united German Empire. He also entered Paris after the capitulation, and at Nancy, on the 14th of March, he issued a farewell manifesto to the soldiers of the Third Army, recapitulating its brilliant achievements, and expressing a hope that the bond of comradeship formed between Prussians and Bavarians and the troops of Wurtemberg and Baden on the field of battle would never be torn asunder, but rather strengthened by time for the honour, renown, and wellbeing of the common German Fatherland. Replying later to an address from the communal authorities of Berlin, the Crown Prince observed that the result of the glorious struggle was "as unexampled as its progress—Germany united, the Emperor established in his Empire, the Fatherland secured by strong and extended frontiers, and its

power and influence firmly and (if God will) permanently settled."

For his distinguished services in the field the Crown Prince received the Grand Cross of the Order of the Iron Cross, the Grand Cross of the Wurtemberg Order for military service, the Swords of the Duchy of Anhalt, Albert Order of the Bear, the Hessian Grand Ducal Cross for military service, and the Lippe-Schaumburg Cross. Accompanied by the Crown Princess and the royal children, on the 4th of July he came over to England on a visit to the Queen, that he might give Her Majesty a personal description of the war in which he had borne so prominent and so successful a part.

During the time of peace which now succeeded the Crown Prince manifested a keen interest in the development of Germany. Matters political, social, religious, artistic, and industrial claimed his attention in turn, and he was indefatigable in travelling to the most remote parts of the Empire in furtherance of German interests. The unveiling of the Stein memorial drew from him the expression of an earnest hope that the work of the great regenerator of Germany would not be forgotten, but as his ideas had already resolved themselves into deeds of deliverance, so might they continue thoroughly to pervade the body politic, that in them the Empire should find a pledge of a great and happy future. In June 1875 he laid the foundation-stone of the monument to be raised in honour of his great ancestor, the conqueror of Fehrbellin, and, speaking afterwards at a banquet, he said, "In this place we stand as it were in the very cradle of the Prussian State. Great and noble are the deeds that have been wrought since that small beginning from which the House of Brandenburg has attained its high predominance; but let us ever be on our guard, let our sentiments ever be those of simple gratitude, for only in the temper of humility can we venture to anticipate that it will be granted to the Emperor to see, during the time of peace, the ripening of the fruit which was sown amid the conflicts of war."

The Emperor William's life was twice attempted in 1878, the second time by the assassin Nobiling, on the 2nd of June. His Majesty was seriously injured, and, in consequence of his wounds, he appointed the Crown Prince provisional Regent, with full authority to act in all affairs of urgency. At this

time the Prussian conflict with the Vatican was in progress. The Prince adopted the same attitude as his father on this question, and in a letter to the Pope he thus emphatically expressed himself: "To the suggestion in your Holiness's letter that the laws of Prussia should be so modified as to accord with the statutes of the Romish Church no Prussian monarch could listen for a moment. The independence of the Monarchy, which as a patriot and as my father's heir I am bound to maintain, would at once be compromised if its freedom of legislation were subordinated to any external power." At the command of the Emperor, the Crown Prince wrote a letter of thanks to the German people for their spontaneous expressions of sympathy in connection with the attempts made to assassinate His Majesty; and in response to an address from the municipal authorities of Berlin, the Regent, after acknowledging the gravity of the times, said: "The Empire is loyal, it is sound at the core; and in this conviction I take courage and find strength to fulfil the duties that devolve upon me."

At the conclusion of the Berlin Congress—which was attended by Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury as the English Plenipotentiaries—a grand banquet was given (13th July 1878) in the White Hall of the Royal Palace at Berlin. The Crown Prince, speaking in French, thus adverted to the labours of the Congress: "The hopes which I ventured to express a month ago, when, in the name of the Emperor, I welcomed the distinguished statesmen who have assembled here, have attained a happy fulfilment. The peace for which Europe so earnestly longed has crowned their labours, and, as the interpreter of the sentiments of my illustrious father, I am rejoiced to pay my tribute to the wise and conciliatory spirit which has contributed to this great result." In the following December the Prince's regency terminated, his venerable father being now happily restored to health. The Emperor William addressed an autograph letter to his "well-beloved son," warmly thanking him for the scrupulous care and efficiency with which he had administered the affairs of the Empire. The Crown Prince, setting duty and the prospective good of the country above immediate popularity, had maintained order during a very critical period by his firm and judicious action.

The death of the lamented Princess Alice, Grand Duchess of Hesse, on the 14th of December 1878, plunged the German

Court, and especially the Crown Prince's household, into profound grief. In almost all German as well as English circles this mournful event stirred the liveliest feelings of sorrow and sympathy. Not long afterwards the Crown Princess was alarmed on her husband's behalf, for in driving up to the Palace in his carriage the horses became restive, and the Prince was thrown violently out. Fortunately he escaped without injury. In March 1879 the Crown Prince and Princess visited England, and were present at the marriage of the Princess Louisa Margaret (daughter of Prince Frederick Charles) to the Duke of Connaught, at St. George's Chapel, Windsor. Only a fortnight after this the Crown Prince and Princess sustained a heavy affliction by the somewhat sudden death at Berlin of their youngest son, Prince Waldemar, who expired of heart disease. As joy treads upon the heels of sorrow, a pleasing event occurred on the 15th of June following, when the infant grandchild of the Crown Prince and Princess, and daughter of the Hereditary Princess Charlotte of Saxe-Meiningen, was baptised in the new Palace at Potsdam, in the names of Feodora Victoria Augusta Marianne Marie, after one of its grandmothers and four of its surviving great grandmothers.

The Emperor William and the Empress Augusta, with the Crown Prince and Princess, visited Cologne on the 15th of October 1880, and were present at the festival on the completion of the famous cathedral. A grand historical procession was formed on the following day, and a banquet was held, at which the Crown Prince spoke of the extreme gratification which the Emperor felt that the great architectural work had been so nobly finished. In February 1881 the Crown Prince's eldest son, Prince William, was married at Berlin to the Princess Augusta, daughter of Duke Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein. A few days later the Imperial family was plunged into the deepest grief by the assassination of the Emperor of Russia. The Crown Prince set out for St. Petersburg to attend his obsequies, and when a question of his safety was raised, the Emperor William characteristically said, *Faisons notre métier*. In consequence of the threats of the Nihilists, however, it was not without a feeling of relief that the Crown Prince was welcomed back at Berlin. In May 1882 a son was born to the Prince and Princess William, and there were great rejoicings at the advent of a Prince who was third in the direct line of

descent as heir to the Imperial throne. Such an occurrence was probably unexampled in the history of Royal and Imperial families. In July the Crown Prince and Princess and the Princess Victoria went upon a tour through Switzerland and Italy, first visiting the King and Queen of Saxony, and also passing through Vienna.

On the 25th of January 1883 the Crown Prince and Princess celebrated their silver wedding, but in consequence of the death of Prince Charles, the Emperor William's brother, the public rejoicings were necessarily curtailed. Great interest was nevertheless shown in this happy celebration, and Queen Victoria was represented at Berlin by a special envoy. The Imperial couple published a letter of thanks to the German nation, in which they expressed themselves as deeply touched by the countless proofs of affection shown to them. At the great Luther festival held at Wittenberg on the 13th of September to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the Reformer's birth, the Crown Prince represented his father, and spoke admirably of the influence which the spirit and work of Luther had exercised upon the German nation. Towards the close of the year the Crown Prince visited Spain, and in January 1884 he passed on to Rome, where he had an audience of the Pope. The relations between Germany and the Vatican were not now of so strained a character as in former years. There were still some outstanding differences, however, which were amicably discussed by His Holiness and his illustrious visitor. Between 1884 and 1887 the Prince took part in many public functions in the German capital, and also in various parts of the Empire. It was in June last, and in England, that he made his last important appearance in public, when he rode in his white cuirassier's uniform by the side of the Prince of Wales at the head of the *cortège* of Princes which preceded the Queen's carriage on the celebration of her Jubilee. Amid all that brilliant galaxy there was no figure more noble or more striking than that of Frederick William of Germany.

But the enthusiasm with which the famous Crown Prince was greeted by innumerable spectators in the Abbey and along the streets of London was not the expression of an unclouded popular delight. With the interest that surrounded so notable a personage, and the eager acclamations extorted by his conspicuously noble bearing, and due to one so nearly related to

our Queen, there mingled the strong undercurrent of a more personal sympathy ; for it was known that the hero of whom all were speaking was the subject of a mysterious malady which was even then recognised as grave, and about which those best informed had begun to whisper dark forebodings. For in May the public had been told that the Crown Prince was suffering from an affection of the throat, which had proved unusually intractable. Since the previous January there had been a local inflammation, accompanied by a slight cough and much hoarseness, and these symptoms refused to yield to the ordinary treatment, until suspicion was at length aroused that they indicated disease of a malignant type. A prolonged stay at Ems did nothing to abate the more persistent symptoms, and in May the German physicians, suspecting cancer, proposed the partial extirpation of the larynx, an operation attended, as was admitted, by the gravest danger.

However, it was determined that, before this extreme step was resorted to, some other specialist should be called in, and Dr. Morell Mackenzie was summoned from London for a consultation. His strong objections to a dangerous operation were at once made known. On the 22nd of May he successfully removed a portion of the diseased tissue from the Crown Prince's throat. This was examined microscopically by Professor Virchow, with what was for the time a reassuring result, and all idea of the serious operation that had been contemplated was abandoned. But the progress of the disease was not arrested, and a prolonged stay in this country after the Jubilee celebrations, first at Norwood, and then in the Isle of Wight and the Scottish Highlands, though benefiting the general health of the patient, left the local malady very much as before. On leaving England the Prince went to Baveno, attended by Mr. Mark Hovell, who has latterly been as constantly by his side as Sir M. Mackenzie himself.

In the autumn the Crown Prince removed with his family to San Remo for the winter, and Sir Morell Mackenzie was summoned thither early in November. At San Remo the disease assumed a more serious shape. On the 11th of November a bulletin was issued by Sir Morell Mackenzie, Professors Schroetter and Krause, and Drs. Schmidt and Hovell, announcing the existence of a swelling in the Crown Prince's throat, which there was reason to hope would disappear under suitable treatment. It was determined to watch the growth care-

fully, but to postpone an operation until a new tumour which suddenly sprung up either disappeared or became small. Sir Morell Mackenzie was able to leave his patient for several weeks, but he returned at the close of last January. Early in February the condition of the Crown Prince became most alarming. On the 9th the symptoms were so serious that the medical authorities decided it was no longer safe to postpone the operation of tracheotomy. The cause of the obstruction to respiration—an increased thickening of the mucous membrane in the front of the lower part of the larynx, under the right vocal chord—threatened at any moment to close the orifice of the windpipe. The danger of suffocation rendered an immediate operation necessary, and this was performed by Dr. Bramann, in the presence of Sir Morell Mackenzie and the other doctors. Time did not permit Dr. Bergmann to be sent for. The operation was successfully performed. No chloroform was administered, and the Prince bore the ordeal with characteristic fortitude. The beneficial effects of the operation became immediately apparent in the great relief afforded to the powers of respiration and deglutition. Breathing was effected by means of a curved silver tube or cannula introduced into the throat as an artificial respiratory organ. In the course of a fortnight or three weeks, however, distressing symptoms again presented themselves, though they were somewhat relieved by the specialists in attendance. Prince William of Prussia proceeded to San Remo on the news of his father's relapse.

While Germany was mourning over the condition of the Crown Prince at San Remo, the national grief was intensified by the rapid failure in the health of the Emperor William, which was not unconnected with the venerable monarch's anxiety for the life of his son. Never was any people so severely smitten; the reigning Sovereign at Berlin and the next heir at San Remo both lying at the same time in a critical condition. Europe wondered from which city would first be despatched mournful and fatal tidings. At length, on the 9th of March, after a long and glorious reign, the Emperor William passed away.

The new Emperor was proclaimed under the title of Frederick III, and His Majesty forwarded from San Remo the following telegram to Prince Bismarck, the Imperial Chancellor: "In the moment of deepest sorrow at the home-going of the Emperor and King, my beloved father, I must express my thanks to you

and to the Ministers of State for the devotion and loyalty with which you all served him, and I rely upon the assistance of you all in the arduous charge which has devolved upon me." The Emperor Frederick and the Empress Victoria departed from San Remo by special train the next morning, accompanied by Sir Morell Mackenzie. They met the King of Italy on the journey, and on the evening of the following day (Sunday) they arrived at the Palace of Charlottenburg. To outward seeming the Emperor was almost as strong and stalwart as ever, as he walked into the vestibule with a firm step that resounded through the lofty hall, lifted his hand to his throat, undid the clasp of his fur-lined military cloak, and shook it from his shoulders before assistance could be rendered to him.

In his proclamation to his people, the Emperor first paid an eloquent tribute to the memory of the dead Kaiser. "The faithful Prussian people," he said, "have lost their fame-crowned King, the German nation the founder of its unity, the newly-risen Empire the first German Emperor." Then, with regard to himself, he added: "Imbued with the greatness of my mission, I shall make it my whole endeavour to continue the fabric in the spirit in which it was founded, to make Germany a centre of peace, and to foster the welfare of Germany in agreement with the Federal Government as well as with the constitutional organs of the Empire, and also with Prussia. To my faithful people who have stood by my house throughout the history of a whole century, in good as in evil days, I offer my unbounded confidence. For I am convinced that on the basis of the unbreakable bond between Sovereign and people which, independently of every change in the life of the State, forms the unalterable inheritance of the House of Hohenzollern, my crown rests henceforward as securely as the devotion of the country to the government of which I am now called, and of which I solemnly promise to be the faithful King, both in happiness and in sorrow. God grant me His blessing and strength to carry out this work, to which my life shall henceforth be devoted."

But barely a fortnight had elapsed after the Emperor's accession before his illness again took an unfavourable turn. Consequently an Imperial decree, dated the 21st of March, was addressed to the Crown Prince and published, expressing the wish of the Emperor that the Prince should make himself conversant with the affairs of State by immediate participa-

tion therein. His Imperial Highness was accordingly entrusted with the preparation and discharge of such State business as the Emperor should assign to him, and he was empowered in the performance of this duty to affix all necessary signatures, as the representative of the Emperor, without obtaining an especial authorisation on each occasion. This step, though a natural one to take in view of the Emperor's condition, gave rise to the most gloomy anticipations. The Emperor's health, however, temporarily improved, and on the 22nd of March he was present at the memorial service in the chapel of Charlottenburg, held in commemoration of his august father's birthday. He likewise attended to the major portion of his State duties, and among other things issued an interesting Imperial rescript upon the condition of the army and the new drill regulations.

About this time a difference of opinion arose between the Emperor and Empress and Prince Bismarck on the subject of the contemplated betrothal of the Emperor's eldest unmarried daughter to Prince Alexander of Battenberg, the late Prince of Bulgaria. The young couple were understood to be much attached to one another, but their union was opposed by Prince Bismarck for reasons of State policy, and because of the effect it would have upon Russia. Matters went so far that Prince Bismarck threatened to resign, but the projected marriage was ultimately abandoned. One marriage in his family the Emperor was permitted to witness, that of his second son, Prince Henry, to Princess Irene of Hesse, which took place only three weeks ago.

A semi-official announcement appeared in the *North German Gazette* on the 13th of April to the effect that in consequence of a contraction which had taken place in the Emperor's throat a new cannula had become necessary. This change was accordingly effected and His Majesty's general condition was not thereby affected. But on the 14th the Emperor was not so well, and on the following day bronchitis supervened. A medical bulletin stated that the bronchitis was attended with high fever and quickened breathing; and it was evident that the Kaiser was once more in a critical state. Consultations were held on the 16th and the members of the Imperial family were summoned. But the worst symptoms passed away again, and the Emperor temporarily rallied. It was after this,

on the 24th of April, that Queen Victoria visited Charlottenburg, and conveyed to the sick chamber of her son-in-law, amid the grateful appreciation of his subjects, the sympathy of an entire nation. This was not the only visit paid to the dying Emperor by a European monarch. As recently as Wednesday last, two days before his death, he dressed in uniform to receive the King of Sweden, who had travelled to Berlin to make his inquiries in person.

The insidious malady from which the Emperor suffered exhibited many fluctuations, but towards the close of May the illustrious patient seemed so much better that he was able to be moved to the Friedrichskron Palace at Potsdam, and the hope was indulged of a considerable prolongation of his life. Early in June, however, His Majesty began to experience difficulty in swallowing, and he also suffered a gradual diminution in weight. There was a marked loss of appetite, the Emperor grew weaker, and liquid nourishment had mainly to be relied upon. The bulletins issued on the 12th were of a very disturbing character. The local malady had begun to affect the wall of the food-duct, and as the area of the disease had rapidly extended the physicians took a very serious view of the case. It became apparent that the long suffering Monarch would not long be able to cope with the complications which had attacked him. Three more days of brave battling with death, and now the end has come; and for the second time within a very brief period the German people have been called upon to mourn the death of its leader and its head.

The Emperor Frederick, whose illustrious career has thus come to a sad and premature close, was beloved by his subjects for his sterling uprightness of character, his enthusiasm for the arts and letters, and his interest in everything that concerned the welfare of his people. A successful soldier, he had a great horror of war. He was a man of broad and liberal views, alike in theology, literature, and politics, and had he lived would have deeply impressed his personality upon the immediate future history of Prussia and Germany. He was strongly opposed to the persecution of the Jews, and his intention to liberalise the institutions of the country as far as possible was shown by his intense dislike of autocratic ideas, and by the recent enforced retirement of the somewhat reactionary Minister, Herr von Puttkamer. It was the Emperor's earnest desire to

reconcile the Monarchy with popular aspirations, and almost his last publicly expressed command was one enjoining perfect freedom at the elections. In all his efforts for the good and advancement of the German nation the Emperor was cordially seconded by his Imperial consort, whose devotion to her husband has been unremitting. The manner in which the Emperor bore his sufferings during the closing months of his life formed one of the most heroic features in his brave, noble, and honourable career.

Of the children born to the Emperor and Empress the following survive: Prince William, born in 1859 (married to the Princess Augusta Victoria); Princess Charlotte, born in 1860 (married to the Hereditary Prince of Saxe-Meiningen); Prince Henry, born in 1862 (married last month to his cousin, Princess Irene of Hesse), Princess Victoria, born in 1866; Princess Sophia Dorothea, born in 1870; and Princess Marguerite, born in 1872.

The Emperor Frederick is succeeded by his eldest son, the Crown Prince, who now becomes Emperor William II. He has four sons, the eldest of whom, Frederick William, born, as we have already seen, in 1882, becomes Crown Prince of Prussia. The new Emperor has been brought up in the school of Moltke and Bismarck, and is distinguished for much force of character. His people predict that, like his grandfather, he will become a great King and Kaiser.

GENERAL SHERIDAN

OBITUARY NOTICE, TUESDAY, AUGUST 7, 1888

PHILIP HENRY SHERIDAN, Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army, and the last and most brilliant of the great generals of the North, was born at Somerset, Ohio, 6th March 1831. He had few advantages of early education and training, but in 1848 he obtained a cadetship at West Point. Sheridan's hot blood and impulsive temperament were manifested even in his student days, and a quarrel with a comrade resulted in his suspension for a year. He was consequently unable to graduate in 1852 as he should have done, but in the following year he concluded his studies and was appointed a brevet second lieutenant of infantry. In 1854 he was assigned to the 1st Infantry in Texas, and the same year he received his commission as second lieutenant of the 4th Infantry. With the latter regiment he served during the next six years in Washington Territory and Oregon. In the attack upon the Indians at the Cascades, Washington Territory, in April 1856, the United States troops landed under fire, and routed and dispersed the enemy at every point. General Scott drew special attention to Sheridan's bravery on this occasion.

But it was the great Civil War which developed Sheridan's talents, as in the case of many other distinguished officers, and made promotion rapid. The resignation of commanders with southern sympathies and the creation of new regiments secured Sheridan a first lieutenantcy in the 4th Infantry in March 1861, and a captaincy in the 13th Infantry in the following May. Yet that memorable year in the history of the United States "brought him little employment and no laurels." After

various minor services he was commissioned as colonel of the 2nd Michigan Cavalry on 25th May 1862. He at once engaged with the regiment in Elliot's raid against the railroad, which was destroyed at Booneville. During the month of June he commanded the 2nd Cavalry Brigade in several skirmishes, and on the 1st of July gained a brilliant victory at Booneville over a superior cavalry force. His appointment as brigadier-general of volunteers dated from this action. In the autumn of 1862 Sheridan received the command of the 11th Division of the Army of the Ohio, under General Buell. Moving out of Louisville with Buell against Bragg, he took part, on the 8th of October, in the stoutly-contested battle of Perryville, where he manœuvred his division with conspicuous skill and effect, holding the key of the Northern position, and using the point to its utmost advantage.

At the famous battle of Murfreesboro, which was one of the bloodiest and most prolonged of the campaign, Sheridan held the key-point for several hours in the first day's fighting, "displaying superb tactical skill and the greatest gallantry." After repulsing four desperate assaults, his ammunition unfortunately gave out. He then ordered a bayonet charge and withdrew his lines from the field; but by his obstinate resistance invaluable time had been gained for his chief, General Rosecrans, to make new dispositions. Sheridan's commission as major-general followed upon these services. From this time little of interest occurred until 19th to 20th September 1863, when Sheridan again distinguished himself at the battle of Chickamauga, rescuing his division from a perilous position. General Thomas was transferred to the command of Rosecrans's besieged army at Chattanooga, and thither General Grant arrived with reinforcements from Vicksburg. Grant was determined to dislodge the Southern commander, Bragg, who was posted on Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. Hooker carried Lookout Mountain, and Thomas captured the Ridge on 25th November. In the latter operation Sheridan's division was the first to cross the crest, and it pressed the enemy's rear-guard until long after dark, seizing waggons and artillery. By his successful conduct in the West, Sheridan had now thoroughly established his military reputation.

Grant, who had now become lieutenant-general, established his headquarters in Virginia in March 1864. He was very

badly off for an energetic commander of cavalry there, and discussed the matter with General Halleck. The latter at once suggested Sheridan, remembering his splendid dash and bravery at Missionary Ridge. "The very man!" exclaimed the laconic Grant, and Sheridan accordingly became commander of the Cavalry Corps of the Army of the Potomac. Sheridan's progress during the campaign of 1864 was like a whirlwind. His troops covered the front and flanks of the infantry through the battles of the "Wilderness" until 8th May, when the greater part of the force was withdrawn, and next morning Sheridan started on a raid against the enemy's points of communication with Richmond. Getting within the Confederate lines, he dashed upon the outworks of Richmond itself, where he took 100 prisoners, and thence moved to Haxall's Landing, from which point he returned to the Northern army, having destroyed many miles of railroad track, besides trains and a great quantity of rations, and liberated 375 Union soldiers. This expedition included repulses of the enemy at Beaver Dam and Meadow Bridge, and the defeat of the enemy's cavalry at Yellow Tavern, where their best cavalry leader, J. E. B. Stuart, was killed. From 27th May to 24th June Sheridan was engaged in almost daily engagements and skirmishes, harassing the enemy, and, with that good fortune which sometimes attends the most daring soldiers, resisting all attempts to defeat or capture him.

The Middle Department and the departments of West Virginia, Washington, and Susquehanna were constituted the "Middle Military Division" in August 1864, and General Grant put Sheridan in command of the same. He chafed for opportunities of further distinguishing himself and justifying his appointment; but the enemy, under General Early, had been reinforced, and for six weeks Sheridan was kept on the defensive near Harper's Ferry. At length, when Early's forces had been diminished, Sheridan expressed such confidence of success if he were allowed to attack that Grant gave him permission in only two words of instruction, "Go in!" Sheridan went in, attacking Early with great vigour on the 19th of September at the crossing of the Opequan. After a severe battle the enemy was routed; Sheridan captured 3000 prisoners and 5 guns, and sent Early, as he expressed it, "whirling through Winchester." Next day, President Lincoln, on Grant's recommenda-

tion, appointed the victorious soldier a brigadier-general in the regular army. Taking up the pursuit of Early in the Shenandoah Valley, Sheridan found him on the 20th strongly posted on Fisher's Hill, just beyond Strasburg. Quietly moving Crook's command through the wood, he turned the enemy's left on the 22nd, and drove him from his stronghold, capturing 16 guns.

The losses of Sheridan and those of Early in these two battles were almost precisely equal, being about 5400 men each ; but the Northern general had captured many guns and small arms. Sheridan continued the pursuit up the Valley, but finding it impracticable to proceed either to Lynchburg or Charlottesville, he returned through the Valley, devastating it on his way and rendering it untenable for an enemy's army. By Sheridan's successes Grant obtained the unobstructed use of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, whereas his defeat would have exposed Maryland and Pennsylvania to invasion.

Sheridan's next operations, however, were the most important, as they have become the most renowned, in his career. Passing through Strasburg, he posted his troops on the further bank of Cedar Creek, while he himself, on the 16th of October, went to Washington in response to a request from Secretary Stanton for consultation. Before the sun rose on the morning of the 19th, Early, who had been reinforced, surprised during a fog the left of the Union army, and uncovered the position also of the 19th Corps, capturing 24 guns and about 1400 prisoners. General Wright succeeded in retaining his grasp on the turnpike by moving the 6th Corps to its western side and the cavalry to its eastern ; but the whole army in the process had been driven back beyond Middletown.

Sheridan was at Winchester at this time, on his return from Washington. Hearing the noise of battle, he dashed up the turnpike with an escort of twenty men, rallying the fugitives on his way, and after a ride of a dozen miles reached the army, where he was received with indescribable enthusiasm. This famous incident gave rise to Mr. Buchanan Read's stirring poem of *Sheridan's Ride*, now one of the most popular pieces in the *répertoires* of public readers both in England and the United States. After the lapse of a few hours spent in preparing his forces, Sheridan ordered an advance, and literally swept the

enemy from the field in one of the most overwhelming and decisive engagements of the war. All the lost Union guns were retaken, and 24 Confederate guns and many waggons and stores were captured. Congress passed a vote of thanks to Sheridan and his troops for the "brilliant series of victories in the Valley," and especially the one at Cedar Creek. Sheridan was appointed by the President a major-general in the regular army, "for the personal gallantry, military skill, and just confidence in the courage and patriotism of your troops," as the order expressed it, "displayed by you on the 19th of October."

On 27th February 1865 Sheridan, with his cavalry, 10,000 strong, moved up the Valley, destroying the Virginia Central Railroad, the James River Canal, and immense quantities of supplies, and defeating Early again at Waynesboro. He then made his way towards Grant's army, and arrived at White House on 19th March. In subsequent operations he acted immediately under General Grant. The final campaign of the war began, and on the 31st of March Sheridan was attacked by a heavy force of Lee's infantry under Pickett and Johnson; but on the following day, being reinforced by Warren, he entrapped and completely routed Pickett and Johnson's forces at Five Forks, taking thousands of prisoners. Sheridan displayed great tactical skill and generalship on this occasion, and the decisive battle of Five Forks compelled General Lee to evacuate Petersburg and Richmond. Lee was soon in flight, but Sheridan was speedily on his trail, and, far away in the Northern van, he constantly harassed the enemy. Overtaking the flying army at Sailor's Creek, he captured 16 guns and 400 waggons, and detained the enemy until the 6th Corps could come up, when a combined attack resulted in the capture of more than 6000 prisoners.

On the 8th of April Sheridan again engaged the Confederates at Appomattox Station. Early on the morning of the 9th the enemy endeavoured to break through, but abandoned the attempt when Sheridan, moving aside, disclosed the infantry behind. Sheridan mounted his men and was about to charge, when the white flag betokening surrender was displayed in his front. This brought the war in Virginia to a close, though in Alabama and other districts the conflict continued to a somewhat later period. The Confederate power, however, was broken by

the surrender at Appomattox Court-house, which practically ended the Civil War.

Sheridan subsequently conducted an expedition into North Carolina. On 3rd June 1865 he took command of the military division of the South-West, at New Orleans, and was appointed to the fifth military district (Louisiana and Texas) in March 1867. President Johnson, being dissatisfied with his administration, relieved him of his appointment during the reconstruction troubles in Louisiana, and transferred him to the department of the Missouri. He continued in command until 4th March 1869, when he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, and assigned the command of the division of the Missouri, with headquarters at Chicago.

During the Franco-German War of 1870-71 General Sheridan visited Europe, and was present as a spectator with the German forces at several celebrated engagements. He was held in high esteem by Prince Bismarck and Count von Moltke. After the sanguinary battle of Gravelotte, which Sheridan witnessed, Bismarck returned with the King to Pont-à-Mousson, and on the evening of the next day the German Chancellor entertained to dinner General Sheridan and his American companions, "with whom he talked eagerly in good English, while champagne and porter circulated." At one point of the Franco-German War, when Bismarck was at Versailles, anxiously desiring a French Government with which he could conclude a durable peace, "it almost seemed," says Mr. Lowe in his *Life of Bismarck*, "as if he had no other resource but to pursue the war on the principles laid down by General Sheridan." The American soldier had said to the Chancellor: "First deal as hard blows at the enemy's soldiers as possible, and then cause so much suffering to the inhabitants of the country that they will long for peace and press their Government to make it. Nothing should be left to the people but eyes to see and lament the war!"

In 1875, during the political disturbances in Louisiana, General Sheridan was sent to New Orleans, returning to Chicago on quiet being restored. On the retirement of General Sherman, in March 1884, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States. General Sheridan was the most brilliant cavalry officer whom America has produced. In addition to conspicuous personal bravery, he had an eagle eye for piercing through the designs of an enemy and for

detecting at a glance all their weak points. He possessed wonderful energy, remained undepressed in the presence of overwhelming odds, and had a superb confidence in moments of the greatest danger. His career was one of the most romantic and adventurous called forth by the great American Civil struggle.

MARSHAL BAZAINE

OBITUARY NOTICE, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1888

FRANÇOIS ACHILLE BAZAINE, French General, ex-Marshal of France, and Senator of the Empire, who died at Madrid, of heart disease, on the 23rd inst., came from a family well known in the military annals of France, and was born at Versailles on the 13th of February 1811. He went through a course of study in the École Polytechnique, entered the army in 1831, and in the following year served in Africa. In 1836 he was advanced to the grade of lieutenant, having won the Cross of the Legion of Honour on the field of battle. In 1837 he accompanied the Foreign Legion into Spain, and after two vigorous campaigns against the Carlists, he returned to Algeria in 1839 with the rank of captain. During the next nine years Captain Bazaine saw much active service. On the outbreak of the war in the East in 1854 he was chosen to command the brigade of infantry formed out of the Foreign Legion. During the siege of Sebastopol the bulletins of Generals Canrobert and Pélissier bore frequent testimony to the bravery of Bazaine and his power of organisation; and on the retreat of the Russians he was named Governor of the place and promoted to the rank of General of division. He next commanded the French portion of the expedition against Kinburn, which surrendered to the allies, with 1420 prisoners and 174 cannon. In the Italian campaign Bazaine was wounded on the 8th of June 1859, while commanding a division, in the attack upon Melegnano, and he also took a conspicuous part in the battle of Solferino.

When the French expedition against Mexico was despatched in July 1862, Bazaine was entrusted with a distinguished

command. He exhibited his accustomed dash and energy, and owing to the success of his tactics he succeeded to the supreme command in 1863, on the retirement of Marshal Forey. Bazaine, who had been nominated Commander of the Legion of Honour in 1856 and Grand Cross in 1863, received his Marshal's baton in September 1864. Pursuing the war in Mexico at first with great vigour, he drove back President Juarez to the furthestmost frontiers of the country; made himself master of the fortified city of Oajaca, the garrison of which (consisting of 7000 men) surrendered to him unconditionally in February 1865; and further organised against the soldiers of the Republic a system of guerilla warfare which was carried into effect with considerable bravery, but at the same time with great barbarity, by Colonel Dupin.

Even at this stage of his career, however, there were not wanting those who accused Marshal Bazaine of treachery. It was said that though he persuaded Maximilian to issue the most rigorous decrees against the Juarists, and himself relentlessly executed them, he was engaged in secret plottings with the enemies of the unfortunate and ill-starred Emperor, in pursuance of personal ambitious schemes. The Marshal married a rich Mexican lady whose family were supporters of Juarez. What is certain is that serious misunderstandings arose between the Emperor Maximilian and the leader of the French expedition, the latter alleging that he was greatly embarrassed by the obstinate resistance of the natives and the policy pursued by the United States.

At a final council of Mexican notables held by Maximilian, Marshal Bazaine declared the maintenance of the Empire to be impossible, and the prolongation of the struggle against Juarez utterly hopeless. Accordingly he commenced preparations for conducting his troops back to France. Concentrating them on Vera Cruz, he prepared for a general embarkation, defending himself meanwhile against the attacks of the natives. He left Vera Cruz on the 12th of March 1867, with the whole of the expeditionary forces. Marshal Bazaine's conduct in the Mexican campaign gave rise to severe criticism, and on his arrival in France he was made the object of violent public denunciations. Nevertheless, he took his seat in the Senate, and shortly afterwards was appointed to the command of the Third Army Corps stationed at Nancy. In October 1869, after the death of St.

Jean d'Angély, he was nominated commander-in-chief of the Imperial Guard at Paris.

The name of Marshal Bazaine is inextricably interwoven with the two most disastrous campaigns in modern French history. Though distrusted by the French people, this soldier of evil fortune managed to retain the confidence of the Emperor. Never had Sovereign such bitter cause to lament the results of implicit trust reposed in another as in the case of Napoleon III. and Marshal Bazaine. In the great war of 1870, so dramatic in its surprises, and so swift as regards the collapse of the French armies, the deceased general was destined to bear a conspicuous but unenviable part. The Empire set in gloom, its armies were decimated upon the field, and the only compacted force that remained of the mass which had moved against the Prussians was that of Bazaine, held fast in Metz. Paris had many sanguine patriots who believed that the beleaguered Marshal would yet force his way through his enemies, but it was also reported that famine had begun to tell seriously upon the army, and that the Marshal himself, after the proclamation of the Republic, had conceived the possibility of playing an Imperial restoration game.

After fruitless efforts to secure favourable terms, the Commandant of Metz signed a capitulation on 27th October. Three Marshals of the Empire—Bazaine, Lebœuf, and Canrobert—more than 6000 officers, 173,000 subalterns and private soldiers, 3000 guns, 53 eagles, and 40,000,000*l.* in treasure fell into the grasp of the victors. A capture of such magnitude was hitherto unparalleled in the annals of war. It was afterwards stated that the French soldiers in Metz had continually begged to be led out against the enemy, being prepared to face death in the struggle, but that they had implored in vain. A correspondent within the walls, referring to Bazaine's waiting policy and his indecisive attitude as regarded the Republic and the deposed Emperor, wrote: "To this course alone is due the abandonment of a fortress almost impregnable, which never fired a shot from its walls, and into which no shot ever fell; which sent away an army 'vanquished by famine' with six days' full rations; the soldiers, as I saw myself, handing out from their fourgons huge portions of bacon to the people as they were led away into captivity!" The terrible news caused the profoundest indignation all over France. "Such

a crime," Gambetta said, "is beyond even the chastisements of justice."

The prosecution of the war in the French provinces and the siege of Paris diverted for a time the public attention from Marshal Bazaine. But in August 1871 he was summoned to Versailles by the Military Commission of the National Assembly. The disasters of the war were passed in review by a Council of Inquiry, with Marshal Baraguay d'Hilliers at its head. Bazaine, instead of waiting for the decision, offered himself as an accused man for trial by Court-martial. The trial was postponed from time to time, while legal investigations continued to be made, but at length, on the 6th of October 1873, it came on at the Grand Trianon of Versailles. The Court-martial of general officers was presided over by General the Duc d'Aumale. The whole scene was one of painful interest. The Marshal was defended by Lachaud. When the Duke ordered the accused to be brought in, the Marshal entered in full costume, wearing the red cordon of the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour and the Star. In the act of accusation he was charged not only with military incapacity in allowing himself to be blockaded by a nearly equal force in Metz and in his ultimate capitulation, but also with a treasonable design of making himself, by the aid of his army, and with the connivance of the enemy, independent of the Government of National Defence, which had been universally acknowledged by France.

After the evidence had been heard, and Maître Lachaud had delivered his speech for the defence, the Duc d'Aumale asked the Marshal whether he had anything to add to what had already been urged. In the midst of profound silence the Marshal stood up and said, "I bear on my breast two words, 'Honour and Country.' They have been my motto for the forty years during which I have served France, alike at Metz and elsewhere. I swear it before Christ." While uttering this the prisoner appeared deeply moved; but his voice was clear and sonorous.

The Council adjourned during pleasure, and on its reassembling the Duc d'Aumale, in a firm and energetic voice, spoke as follows: 'In the name of the French people, the Council of War, etc., delivers the following judgment: François Achille Bazaine, Marshal of France, is he guilty, first of having capitulated before the enemy in the open field?—Unanimously, yes. Secondly, had this capitulation the effect of making those under

his command lay down their arms?—Unanimously, yes. Thirdly, is he guilty of having negotiated with the enemy before having done everything prescribed by duty and honour?—Unanimously, yes. Fourthly, is he guilty of having surrendered a fortified place, the protection of which had been entrusted to him?—Unanimously, yes. In consequence of this Marshal Bazaine is condemned to the penalty of death, with military degradation, and ceases to belong to the Legion of Honour, and besides is condemned to pay the expense of the trial as regards the State. The Council orders that the sentence shall be read to the Marshal in the prison, in presence of the assembled guard under arms." But in pronouncing this sentence—which public opinion both in France and out of France generally regarded as a just one—the judges unanimously agreed that a recommendation for mercy should be addressed to Marshal MacMahon. In consequence of this recommendation the Chief of the Republic commuted the punishment into one of twenty years' seclusion. The military degradation inflicted on the culprit was also allowed to be divested of the humiliating ceremonies usually attending it. The place chosen for Bazaine's incarceration was the Isle Ste. Marguerite, whence he effected his escape in 1874.

Bazaine, who was taken on board a ship lying off the island, escaped into Italy. He afterwards proceeded to Cologne, then visited England for a short time, and finally took up his abode in Madrid. On two occasions he endeavoured to vindicate his conduct when in command of the French army within Metz. The first of these occasions was in September 1874, when he addressed an elaborate apologetic statement to the *New York Herald*; and the second in April 1883, when he published a volume of the same exculpatory character, dedicated to Queen Isabella II.

VISCOUNT EVERSLEY

OBITUARY NOTICE, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1888

It is with deep regret that we have to announce the death of Viscount Eversley, well known even to the present generation as a distinguished Speaker of the House of Commons and a remarkable figure in the history of his time.

Lord Eversley was descended on his father's side from a Yorkshire family, and through his mother from a Norman stock. Pierre Lefevre, the first known of the latter race, was born in Normandy in 1650, and settled in England in 1688 to evade the persecution of the Protestants after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. One of his sons, John Lefevre, was High Sheriff of Essex in 1756. Another son, Isaac, was the progenitor of succeeding generations of this family. His granddaughter, Helena, was an heiress, and married Mr. Charles Shaw, the father of Lord Eversley, who assumed the name of Lefevre in addition to his own. This gentleman was too considerable a person to be passed over without a few words of introduction. The only son of Mr. George Shaw, of an old Yorkshire family, he was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and was afterwards called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn. For some years he went the Midland Circuit; but after his marriage, in 1789, he settled at Heckfield, the home of his wife's family, near Reading, and became so active and capable a magistrate that he was chosen Chairman of the Hampshire Quarter Sessions and appointed Recorder of Basingstoke. In 1796 he entered Parliament as member for Newton in the Isle of Wight, and in 1802 he was elected for Reading, which he continued to represent until he retired from Parliament in 1820. In connection with

his son's future career it is instructive to learn that in the House of Commons he devoted himself to the study of Parliamentary procedure and to assiduous attendance in Committees ; while in his own county he raised and commanded a troop of yeomanry. His figure being tall and imposing and his manner somewhat pompous, Canning mischievously remarked, "There are only two great men in the world—Shah Abbas and Shaw-Lefevre."

Charles Shaw-Lefevre, the eldest son of this worthy, was born in London in February 1794 ; was educated at Winchester and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1815 and M.A. in 1819. In the latter year he was also called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn. But, while pursuing his studies with all diligence and success, he proved himself so keen a sportsman and so accomplished a shot that his serious mother, slow to discern the greater qualities of her first-born son, sorrowfully observed, "As for Charles, he is only fit to be a game-keeper." But, whatever her estimate of his intellect, she was assuredly proud of his person, as he grew to be one of the tallest and handsomest men of his generation.

In 1817 he married Emma Laura, the youngest daughter of Mr. Samuel Whitbread, the eminent Whig statesman, by Lady Elizabeth, the sister of Charles, Earl Grey, the future Premier. He thus became connected with two influential political families. But, while keenly interested in politics, he was not impatient to enter upon a political career. That he was already well qualified to seek his fortunes in that exciting field was soon to be shown. In 1820 his brother-in-law, Mr. Samuel Whitbread, contested the county of Middlesex, upon Liberal principles, when he threw himself eagerly into the contest. He canvassed electors, organized local committees, and addressed popular meetings from the hustings, at Brentford and other strongholds of the Liberal cause. In the same year, on his father's retirement from public life, he was invited to succeed him in the representation of Reading, but, from motives of prudence, he declined the proffered honour. Meanwhile, he continued his legal studies, and figured in the Courts as junior counsel as often as discerning clients discovered his merits.

By the death of his father, in 1823, he acquired a more important position in his own county, and was soon distinguished as an able magistrate, an influential member of the Court of Quarter Sessions, and a zealous officer of the Yeomanry. But

perhaps he was still better known to the Hampshire squires as the best shot in the county. At length, in 1830, Lord Radnor introduced him to the House of Commons as member for Downton; and in 1831 he was returned, after a severe contest, as one of the members for his own county, which had hitherto been under the exclusive influence of Tory families. He entered Parliament at the midst of the great struggle of the Reform crisis, and steadily supported Lord Althorp, Lord John Russell, and the Ministry of Earl Grey throughout their momentous contest with the Tory Opposition and the House of Lords. After the passing of the Reform Act, in 1832, he was elected to the northern division of Hampshire, in which he resided. Ever ready to support his own party with his vote and prudent counsels, it formed no part of his ambition to thrust himself forward as a debater in season and out of season, like too many of our younger school of politicians at the present day; but in 1834, at the request of Lord Althorp, he gladly undertook to move the Address. He was the more gratified at the compliment paid him, as his father had, on a former occasion, discharged the same function, by desire of Mr. Pitt.

Following in the footsteps of his father, he applied himself to the study of the rules and practice of the House, and to the useful, but comparatively modest labours of Committees. For some years he was Chairman of a Committee of forty-two, on Petitions for Private Bills; and did good service to the House and to suitors. In 1835 he was Chairman of a Committee on Agricultural Distress, and, his report not having been accepted, he published it as a pamphlet addressed to his constituents. Here he acquired a high reputation for judicial fairness, for a rare aptitude in business, and for the tact and courtesy which distinguished him throughout his long career in public life. In 1837 his honourable position in the House was acknowledged by his choice as the proposer of Mr. Abercromby for re-election to the Chair in the new Parliament.

Such were his Parliamentary standing and reputation when, in 1839, Mr. Speaker Abercromby suddenly retired from the Chair. He himself has often related that, while standing behind the Chair surrounded by a group of county members, among whom were Mr. Ashford Sandford, and his old friend Mr. Robert Palmer, one of the party said, "Now, Lefevre, we mean to have you as our Speaker," and this friendly joke was

soon found to express the general sentiment of the country gentlemen and the Ministerial party. The Ministers who had favoured the claims of Mr. Spring Rice were soon forced to defer to the unmistakable choice of their followers. Nature, had, indeed, marked him as the fittest representative of a great assembly of English gentlemen. His lofty stature and manly bearing, his handsome features, and frank and open countenance commanded the ready confidence of men of his own class, of whom he formed an admirable type.

On 27th May he was formally proposed as Speaker, but his election was not unopposed. The Ministry of Lord Melbourne was losing ground in Parliament and the country, and Sir Robert Peel was the leader of a formidable Conservative Opposition. Mr. Goulburn, a friend and former colleague of the Conservative leader, was therefore put forward as a rival candidate. He was a more experienced member of the House, he had held high offices under the Crown, and he was proposed by Mr. Williams Wynn, the greatest living authority in Parliamentary lore, who had himself been designated by general consent, as worthy to adorn the Speaker's Chair. An excellent man of business, of unblemished character, and many high qualities, Mr. Goulburn, in form and features, presented an infelicitous contrast to his rival. But, in truth, the choice depended mainly upon the relative strength of parties, and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre was elected by a majority of 18—317 members having voted for him, and 299 for Mr. Goulburn.

Mr. Shaw-Lefevre succeeded to the Chair in no easy times. Party feeling was inflamed by many burning questions; the rude spirits of a Reformed Parliament had not yet been broken to the rules and traditions of order. Ministers had been weakened by successive defeats and failures; their party was disunited; and the Radicals and O'Connell's tail were uneasy allies on their left flank. The Opposition, supported by the House of Lords in every assault upon the Ministerial policy, were hostile, aggressive, and confident. There were fierce passages of arms between Lord Stanley and O'Connell; Ministers were hotly pressed, alike by friends and foes; and the excitement of the strife too often found expression in unaccustomed clamour and disorders. Such was the assembly over which the new Speaker was now called upon to preside; and he at once proved himself equal to the occasion. His dignity and firmness,

his tact and temper, were never at fault. He called unruly members to order with a smile which disarmed all anger ; he ruled them without offence to their *amour propre* ; but, when he was obliged to exert a sterner authority, his manner was resolute and commanding. In his intercourse with men of all parties he displayed the genial spirits and humour of his healthy nature. When twenty members had started to their feet at once, he was asked how he had singled out his man. "Well," he replied, "I have been shooting rabbits all my life, and have learnt to mark the right one."

His services were not confined to the more conspicuous functions of the Chair. Many old rules of procedure and debate had proved an incentive to the restless activity of a Reformed Parliament. Mr. Speaker Abercromby's rule had already been signalised by a bold innovation upon ancient traditions. Incessant debates on the presentation of petitions having threatened a dead-lock upon all legislation, they were peremptorily forbidden, and his successor, finding that other customary forms had become unnecessary impediments to the effective discharge of the proper duties of Parliament, applied himself to their amendment. His valuable reforms may now be forgotten ; but we venture to affirm that, without the facilities which they afforded, the great legislative measures of the last forty or fifty years could not have been brought to a successful issue. In his own library he was ever ready to solve a knotty question ; and he was as keen in a search for precedents as in the pursuit of hares and pheasants. Whatever he undertook, either in business or pleasure, he followed up heartily and with a will. Even his work was seasoned with play. Studies which other men thought tedious and irksome were enlivened by his happy temper until they were found to be no more than an amusement. The Commons were not slow to congratulate themselves that they had chosen the right man as their Speaker ; and two years later they were invited to repeat their choice.

After several years of conflict a dissolution was forced upon Lord Melbourne in 1841 ; and the new Parliament met on 19th August. The elections had entirely changed the relative position of parties. Sir Robert Peel returned to the House of Commons with a Conservative majority of ninety-one, and was master of the Ministry and the Parliament. The late Speaker was at his mercy, but, bearing in mind the memorable contest

for the Speakership in 1835, he again contended against the doctrine that a Speaker "who had conscientiously and ably performed his duties should be displaced because his political opinions were not consonant to those of the majority of the House," and gladly bore witness that Mr. Shaw-Lefevre "by his ability, impartiality, and integrity had secured the confidence of the House." No other candidate was proposed; and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre was called to the Chair by the unanimous voice of a crowded House.

The accession of Sir Robert Peel to power with a strong Administration and an assured majority in both Houses brought comparative tranquillity into the discussions of the House of Commons; but the Free Trade policy of Sir Robert Peel, culminating in the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, aroused the bitterest animosities and passions. The scathing sarcasms of Mr. Disraeli, the fierce denunciations of Lord George Bentinck, and the wild clamour of enraged protectionists assailed the falling statesman; and rarely have the walls of the House of Commons witnessed more exciting scenes than during the closing months of his last painful struggles. These stormy contests were a severe ordeal to the Speaker, but he passed through it with courage and unflinching tact.

When the next Parliament met, on 18th November 1847, Lord John Russell's Ministry was in power, and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre's re-election was secure; but he was now above all considerations of party. Lord George Bentinck declared that all "will join with acclamation in conceding to him pre-eminence over all those illustrious and distinguished men who, on former occasions, have filled the Chair." And in this high praise another notable Conservative, Sir Robert Inglis, expressed his concurrence. Again Mr. Shaw-Lefevre was conducted to the Chair, amid hearty cheers from all parts of the House.

When another Parliament met, on 4th November 1852, Lord Derby was Premier, and Mr. Disraeli, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, had become Leader of the House of Commons. But political changes did not affect the assured position of Mr. Shaw-Lefevre; and for the fourth time he was elected, with acclamation, to the Chair. Throughout this Parliament he continued, with unflinching energy and undiminished popularity, to discharge the arduous duties of his office. But in the spring of 1857 Lord Palmerston being driven to a dissolution by an adverse vote on

the China question, the Speaker, after eighteen years of laborious service, shrank from the responsibility of presiding over the Commons in another Parliament. He had already been elected by four successive Parliaments; he had witnessed the fall of four Administrations; he had won the confidence and friendship of all parties, and he had served longer than any of his predecessors except the celebrated Arthur Onslow. Nay, if his service could have been computed in toilsome days and midnight hours, he would have surpassed that worthy himself in actual labours and endurance. On 11th March 1857 Lord Palmerston, in proposing a vote of thanks to the retiring Speaker, said, "It is needless to remind those who have watched your proceedings how you have combined promptitude of decision, justness of judgment, firmness of purpose, with the most conciliatory manners; and how that dignity—that natural dignity which belongs to yourself, which is most striking when accompanied by simplicity of mind, and the absence of all affectation—how that natural dignity which adorns yourself has been communicated, through your direction, to the general proceedings of the Commons House of Parliament."

On behalf of the Opposition, Mr. Disraeli said, "We, too, sir, have been witnesses to the blended firmness and courtesy with which you have regulated our debates, and, when necessary, controlled them. We also can bear witness to the learning which has guided and enlightened our labours, and to the high bearing which, at all times and under all circumstances—even the most trying—has sustained the dignity of your exalted office."

This vote of thanks was followed by an address praying Her Majesty to confer some signal mark of her royal favour upon the retiring Speaker. A handsome pension was granted to him, and on 23rd March he was raised to the peerage as Viscount Eversley, of Heckfield, in the county of Southampton.

He had bidden farewell to the stormy scenes of the House of Commons, but had no thought of retiring from the labours and responsibilities of public life. He rarely engaged in the debates of the House of Lords, but he constantly attended its deliberations; he was often appealed to as an authority on constitutional questions and points of order; and he served upon many important Committees. In his heart, however, he was still faithful to his early friends, the Commons. The Upper Chamber was

too cold and listless for one who had spent the best days of his life in the exciting atmosphere of a popular assembly. Nor was he content with its lax observance of those rules of debate which he had been so long in the habit of enforcing, and, being appealed to by Lord Granville, in a Committee, upon a question of procedure, he replied, "I know the rules of the House of Commons, but I have not yet been able to learn by what particular rules your lordships are supposed to be governed."

But his own county was the principal scene of his activity and public services. He was High Steward of the ancient city of Winchester; Governor and Lord Lieutenant of the Isle of Wight; Colonel of the Hampshire Yeomanry; and Chairman of the Court of Quarter Sessions. Inspecting officers regretted that he had not the command of regular cavalry; learned judges said he would have been an ornament to the Bench. For twenty-nine years he continued to preside over the administration of the civil affairs of the county with conspicuous ability, and it was not until 2nd July 1879 that he placed his resignation in the hands of the Court. A resolution proposed by the Marquis of Winchester was then unanimously agreed to by the magistrates, who were "anxious to place on record their grateful acknowledgments for the successful manner in which he had discharged his important duties, and to assure him that he carried with him into his retirement the cordial regard and respect of every member of the Court." At the same time he was presented with his portrait, accompanied with every expression of friendship and affection on the part of his colleagues. Lord Eversley has been an Ecclesiastical Commissioner since 1859. He was also a Trustee of the British Museum.

As a relief from his public duties he devoted himself to practical farming and gardening. The gardens of Heckfield were among the shows of the county. Never was their master so happy as when, surrounded by his friends, he could point out some new triumph of the gardener's art, a further encroachment of the velvet lawn upon the park, a pattern flower-bed, a scarce variety of pear, or grapes, fit for the table, every day in the year. Nor did advancing years affect his cheerfulness, his hospitality, or love of sport. Age sat lightly on him. Till quite recent years his powerful frame was unbent, and his step was free and elastic, while his face was ever bright with the natural animation of his youth. Few lives have been happier

or more prosperous. His early married life was saddened by the death of two sons, cut off in their infancy, and his recent honours were overshadowed, in 1857, by the untimely loss of his wife, who had shared the happiness and the hopes of his youth and the successes of his later years. He has left no heir to his title ; but two daughters survive him. The eldest, the Hon. Emma Laura Shaw-Lefevre, did her best to supply her mother's place in his family and household, and was indefatigable in her care for his health and comfort. His second daughter was married, in 1851, to his friend and neighbour, Sir Henry St. John Mildmay, of Dogmersfield Park. His third daughter became the wife of Captain Mildmay, R.N., and died at an early age. Lord Eversley has survived his brothers, Sir John George Shaw-Lefevre, K.C.B., the distinguished Clerk of the Parliaments, and Mr. Henry Shaw-Lefevre, although they both lived to an advanced age. The sole male representative of his family is his nephew, the Right Hon. George Shaw-Lefevre, only son of Sir John Shaw-Lefevre.

MR. BRIGHT

OBITUARY NOTICE, THURSDAY, MARCH 28, 1889

MR. BRIGHT came of one of those old middle-class Quaker families in which the registers of pedigree are as carefully kept as in the most aristocratic houses. It is thus easy to trace his descent from the Brights who in James II.'s reign were farmers in the neighbourhood of Lynham, in Wiltshire. Half a century later a member of the family, Abraham Bright, migrated to Coventry, and there his grandson Jacob was born. He married Martha Lucas, and the youngest of his eight children, named Jacob after himself, was born in the same town in 1775. This Jacob was Mr. John Bright's father. He was one of the early pupils of the Friends' School at Ackworth, near Pontefract, which he left to become an apprentice of one William Holme, a farmer and manufacturer on a small scale at New Mills, in Derbyshire.

In the beginning of the century two of Mr. Holme's sons removed to Rochdale, and built a cotton mill called Hanging Road Mill, and young Bright accompanied them and was employed in their business. It could have been, however, in no very highly paid capacity, for in one of his earliest electioneering speeches at Durham Mr. Bright spoke of his father as having been at one period of his life as poor as any of the working men who were gathered before the hustings. But he was endowed with no little energy and with real business talents, and when in 1809 he set up on his own account in a mill close to Rochdale, he very soon began to prosper. Some friends who had marked his ability found him capital to start with; but in a very few years he was able to dispense with their assistance,

and in 1823 we find him the sole proprietor of an important and flourishing business. He was three times married, and it was his second wife, a Miss Wood, of Bolton, who was the mother of John and Jacob Bright, of Mrs. M'Laren, of Mrs. Lucas, and a number of other sons and daughters whose names are less generally known.

John Bright was the second child, but his elder brother died at four years old, so that he was almost from the time of his birth the eldest of the family. He was born at Green Bank, Rochdale, on 16th November 1811. His first schoolmaster was a Mr. Littlewood, of Townhead, Rochdale; at eleven years of age he went for a year to Ackworth; then for two years to a Mr. Simpson's school at York; and, finally, for eighteen months to another school at Newton, near Clitheroe, close to the river Hodder, where he first formed that taste for fishing which never left him, and in the gratification of which he found to the end of his days his chief out-door amusement. It may be supposed that a boy changing school so often, and leaving for the practical business of life at fifteen, could not lay any very deep foundations of learning; and, indeed, Mr. Bright, like so many other men whose influence in their time has been considerable, may be described as almost entirely self-educated. From his earliest years he was a careful student of English poetry, and English political history always interested him keenly, no small part of his stock of enthusiasm in favour of the Liberal cause arising from his study of the history of the early Quakers, especially that of his great-great-grandfather, John Gratton, one of the victims of the penal laws of Charles II.

The first record that we have of Mr. Bright's interest in actual politics dates from the Preston election of 1830, when the late Lord Derby, then Mr. Stanley, was beaten by the celebrated "Orator Hunt," to the great delight of the Radicals of Lancashire. But it was not on a political question that the young politician made his first speech. About this time, or a little later, Mr. Silk Buckingham, well known in his day from his connection with the *Athenæum* newspaper and with many other literary ventures, went down to Rochdale to deliver a lecture on the then unhackneyed theme of Eastern travel; and young John Bright, at that time not more than twenty years of age, moved a vote of thanks to the lecturer. Some record of the speech has been preserved, enough, at all events, to show

us that, though his style was as yet a little boyish and florid, Mr. Bright had already the root of the matter in him, and could express such ideas as a popular audience could appreciate in language that would move them. A short time afterwards we have more interesting evidence of the care with which he was beginning to devote himself to the art of public speaking. Mr. Aldis, a Baptist minister of distinction, came to Rochdale to speak at a meeting of the Bible Society, and has himself told the story of what occurred in words which, though Mr. Barnett Smith has already quoted them in his life of Mr. Bright, may well be repeated here. Mr. Aldis is telling how he was staying at a friend's house before the meeting :

"Soon a slender, modest young gentleman came, who surprised me by his intelligence and thoughtfulness. I took his arm on the way to the meeting, and I thought he seemed nervous. I think it was his first public speech, at all events in such connection. It was very eloquent and powerful, and carried away the meeting, but it was elaborate and *memoriter*. On our way back, as I congratulated him, he said that such efforts cost him too dear, and asked me how I spoke so easily. I then took the full advantage of my seniority to set forth my notions, which I need not repeat here, except this--that in his case, as in most, I thought it would be best not to burden the memory too much, but having carefully prepared and committed any portions where especial effect was desired, merely to put down other things in the desired order, leaving the wording of them to the moment. Years rolled away. I had entirely forgotten the name of the young Friend, when the Free Trade Bazaar was held in London. One of those engaged for it—Mr. Baker of Stockport calling on me, asked if I had called on Mr. Bright. I said I had not been able to attend the meetings, and did not personally know him at all. He replied, 'You must, for I heard him say that you gave him his first lesson in public speaking.' I went to a subsequent meeting, and recognised the young friend of 1832."

Though Rochdale, like the rest of Lancashire, was deeply stirred by the Reform agitation of 1831-32, young Bright did not personally take any part in this agitation. During these and the following years, however, he continued to practise himself in public speaking, especially in the debates of the Rochdale Literary and Philosophical Society, in connection

with which the notes of several of his speeches have been preserved. It is still more interesting to find that he delivered an elaborate speech about the year 1830 on Disestablishment—a speech of which it may fairly be said that it anticipated nearly all the arguments with which the Liberation Society has since then made us familiar.

It was a short time before this utterance that Mr. Bright had first declared himself on the subject which was for the next ten years to occupy his mind to the exclusion of almost every other question, and in connection with which he was destined to become one of the most conspicuous men of the day. In 1836 Mr. John Feilden, the member for Oldham, published a pamphlet called *The Curse of the Factory System*, in which he took up ground which was very commonly occupied during the coming debates on factory questions—namely, that the great danger to English trade lay in the hard treatment of the factory operatives by their masters. Sir Robert Peel had spoken more or less in this sense in the year 1816; in 1833 a Commission had investigated the matter, and much of the evidence taken before it was quoted by Mr. Feilden in confirmation of his views. It was natural that this way of putting the matter should excite the wrath of a Liberal manufacturer of Mr. Bright's stamp; and in a pamphlet written in answer to Mr. Feilden he anticipated most of the arguments which he was to use eight years later in the important speech which he delivered against Lord Ashley's amendment to the Government Bill for the regulation of labour in factories. It is only of consequence here to notice this pamphlet on account of the manner in which Mr. Bright, while endeavouring to show the impossibility of proposals like Mr. Feilden's, pointed to quite a different source as the danger to English trade. The Lancashire operatives, he fully admitted, were over-worked and under-fed, but the real remedy for these evils was to be looked for in the abolition of the Corn-Laws, which would, by cheapening food and raising wages, make such slavery unnecessary to them.

The story of the struggle for Free Trade is one of the most familiar episodes of modern English history, as it well deserves to be. It is the history of a revolution as important in its results as any political revolution of which this country has been the theatre, carried on by perfectly legitimate and peaceful means. It attacked a monopoly cherished as the apple of their

eye by the privileged class ; and even in 1840, after eight years of a reformed Parliament, the power of the privileged class was almost irresistible. The leaders of the assault were men who had to make their position for themselves ; they belonged to neither Whig nor Tory families ; they were at first not even members of Parliament ; they had no great newspaper strongly on their side. They were forced to trust to facts, to reason, and to eloquence alone. They rested neither on social and political prestige on the one side, nor on intimidation on the other. Their aim from the beginning of the contest till the moment of final triumph was to act upon the Government and upon Parliament through the constituencies ; to convert the minority, first among the voters and then among their representatives, into a majority, and to sweep away the obnoxious impost by a vote that expressed the fairly-formed opinion of the country. It was, indeed, natural that they should incur unpopularity, and that those who felt themselves attacked and defeated by them should, for many years after the triumph of the League, speak of Cobden and Bright with hostility and bitterness.

Mr. Bright, indeed, gave grounds enough for such language. Essentially combative by nature, he seemed to enjoy assailing an abuse ; and, with the instinct of the popular orator who knows that abstractions are far less effective than concrete instances, he was always glad to identify the abuses with some class of living men whom he could hold up to the reprobation of his audience. Landlords, bishops, soldiers, and the Tory party in general—Mr. Bright seldom spoke to a popular audience without denouncing one or other of them. He did it so thoroughly and with such unquestionable force that the victims and their friends would have been more than human had they been disposed to forgive their assailant all at once. But nevertheless there was an openness and a degree of fair play about Mr. Bright's fighting which won him forgiveness in the end. In the very crisis of the struggle for Free Trade, when issues were at stake on which he honestly believed the happiness and even the very life of millions to depend, he never stooped to use the weapons of illegality and outrage.

In 1836, when Mr. Bright first wrote against the Corn-Laws, and in 1838, when he first spoke against them in public, though every Parliamentary division on Mr. Villiers's annual motion

showed a majority of over 100 against repeal, an acute observer might have foretold that repeal was not far off. The feeling against the law was already very strong in the country, not only among the working men, who felt the pinch of high prices, nor only among the manufacturers, who longed for new markets, but among the farmers as well. The law relating to the importation of foreign corn had undergone many modifications since 1815. At that date, and for many years after, the importation of foreign wheat was totally prohibited until the average price of wheat reached 80s per quarter—say, 1s. 4d. for the quartern loaf.

In 1822 Lord Liverpool's Government so far modified the law as to admit foreign corn at a high duty when the average price was 70s., decreasing to a duty of 5s. 2d. when that average was 85s. The concession had been forced from a Parliament of landlords by the bad harvests of 1816 and the following years, during which—and at a time, be it remembered, when the country was exhausted with the gigantic war through which it had just passed—the price rose to 112s. 8d. per quarter. But high prices were not the only evil that befell just at that time. It is obvious that very great and rapid fluctuations in price are just as disastrous to a country as a succession of very high prices. The latter may find their remedy in emigration; the former is sure to produce all the misery that attends upon violent reactions in trade. Great supplies of foreign food found their way to England in consequence of the high prices of 1817, but too slowly and fitfully to bring relief at the moment when it was most wanted. Then followed a series of good harvests; wheat fell in the autumn of 1821 to 56s., and in December to the surprising figure of 38s. 8d. per quarter. The poor man got his quartern loaf for sixpence, but the farmer, whose rent had been estimated on the higher basis, could not pay, and was ruined. "An unnatural and unblessed state of things truly," writes one of the historians of the Free Trade movement, "since under it, if the nation enjoyed plenty, the farmers perished; and in order that the latter should prosper, it was necessary that the people should partially starve."

The consciousness that something was wrong led to Lord Liverpool's modified Corn-Law of 1822, and to the still more important alterations in the sliding-scale of 1828. Huskisson was then a member of the Duke of Wellington's Government,

and it was to him, who had already struck a blow against both the Navigation Laws and the law forbidding the importation of foreign manufactured silk, that the new scale of corn duties was due. The essence of the reform was as follows: When the average price of English wheat was under 62s., foreign corn was to pay a duty of 25s. 8d. per quarter, which duty was to decline gradually till it became 1s. per quarter, when the current price was 73s. or more. Although from time to time attempts were made in Parliament to reform these duties, nothing was really done. In 1837 Mr. Clay carried Lord Hawick and four other members of the Government with him in his proposal to substitute a fixed duty of 10s. for the sliding-scale; and in 1841 Lord John Russell went still further in his scheme for establishing a fixed duty of 8s. per quarter on corn, 4s. 6d. on barley, and 3s. 4d. on oats. The measure never came to the vote; the Ministry were defeated first on the question of the Sugar Duties, and then on a motion of want of confidence; a dissolution followed, and Sir Robert Peel came in. He came in to support the Corn-Law of 1828; and in five years, as every one knows, he abolished it altogether.

The active movement in favour of Free Trade may be said to have really begun in the autumn and winter of 1836-37. The harvest had been very bad; a commercial crisis brought about numerous heavy failures; the distress among the working population was severe. At this time the first of the Anti-Corn-Law Associations was formed in London, numbering twenty-two members of Parliament, and many other well-known persons. Grote, Sir William Molesworth, Roebuck, Silk Buckingham, Joseph Hume, and Colonel Thompson among the members of the House of Commons, the poets Campbell and Ebenezer Elliott, men of letters like Laman Blanchard, William Howitt, and Archibald Prentice (the future historian of the League) were enrolled in its list.

It was not till the next year, however, that the work began in serious earnest, and then it was from Manchester, not from London, that the impulse came. At a meeting hastily summoned to welcome Dr. Bowring, in September 1838, a proposal was made to form an Anti-Corn-Law Association in Manchester; seven men—all, it would seem, Scotchmen by birth—met next day to arrange details; and in a short time a first list of the Provisional Committee was issued. It contained the name of

John Bright, of Rochdale ; and a second and fuller list, published immediately afterwards, contained that of Richard Cobden, of Moseley. Other local associations were formed very soon afterwards. In January the first subscription list was opened, and in a month the sums given amounted to £6136. On 20th March 1839, after one or two Parliamentary defeats, a meeting of the provincial delegates took place in London, and it was there agreed to recommend "the formation of a permanent union, to be called the Anti-Corn-Law League, composed of all the towns and districts represented in the delegation, and as many others as might be induced to form Anti-Corn-Law Associations and to join the League." The work before the League had been laid down just before by Cobden. The House of Commons had declined to hear representatives of the Manchester Association at the bar. "The delegates," said Cobden, "had offered to instruct the House ; the House had refused to be instructed. But the House must be instructed ; and the most unexceptionable and effectual way will be by instructing the nation."

It is not necessary to pursue here the history of the League in general, or to tell the often-repeated story of its long and arduous campaign against prejudice and monopoly. We may confine ourselves to the work done by Mr. Bright, who, though he was not, like Cobden, at once "the organiser of victory" and the most unanswerable of Parliamentary debaters, was the man whose noble eloquence gave a force and colour to the movement without which it would have hardly prevailed.

The first public meeting addressed by Mr. Bright on this subject seems to have been one held in the open air at Rochdale, early in 1839. At that time the Free Traders had to contend not only against the agricultural interest on the one hand, but against the Chartists on the other ; these latter, who were finding at that moment great support among the working men of Lancashire, holding that political reform must come before fiscal reform, and that no House of Commons elected on the suffrage of 1832 would ever repeal the Corn-Laws. It was urged with convincing force on the other side that no such House of Commons would ever grant the Charter and establish manhood suffrage ; but the answer was not deemed conclusive, and the Chartists were for some years one of the great difficulties with which the Free Traders had to contend. In this particular meeting a Chartist amendment was carried against Mr. Bright,

and the Rochdale operatives for some time longer chose to dream of the blessings of the ballot, manhood suffrage, and equal electoral districts, rather than to put their hands to the removal of a practical grievance which pressed heavily upon them all.

For a year or two longer Mr. Bright's interference was only occasional; the League was doing well, and he had other matters to think of. In 1839 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Jonathan Priestman, of Newcastle, but in less than two years she died. The touching story of her death and of the influence which it indirectly had upon his career was told by himself, in a passage that has become historical, in the beautiful speech which he delivered at the unveiling of the Cobden statue at Bradford, in July 1877; and at the risk of undue repetition we may quote it again:

"It was in September in the year 1841. . . . At that time I was at Leamington, and I was, on the day when Mr. Cobden called on me—for he happened to be there at the time on a visit to some relatives—I was in the depths of grief, I may almost say of despair; for the light and sunshine of my house had been extinguished. All that was left on earth of my young wife, except the memory of a sainted life and of a too brief happiness, was lying still and cold in the chamber above us. Mr. Cobden called upon me as his friend, and addressed me, as you might suppose, with words of condolence. After a time he looked up and said, 'There are thousands of houses in England at this moment where wives, mothers, and children are dying of hunger. Now,' he said, 'when the first paroxysm of your grief is over, I would advise you to come to me, and we will never rest until the Corn-Law is repealed.'"

The invitation was accepted, and from that time to the day when total repeal was granted Mr. Bright flung himself heart and soul into the agitation. His speech at a great meeting at the Crown and Anchor Hotel, in the Strand, in February 1842, has been generally marked as that which first brought him very prominently before the public, at least in London and the south of England. He aided in the formation of provincial branches of the League, and during the summer and autumn of that year he is said to have made important speeches in fourteen large towns at least, his greatest and most successful effort being the speech which he delivered at the Manchester Corn Exchange on 29th December.

By this time people were naturally beginning to talk of sending so powerful a speaker to Parliament; and accordingly in the following March (1843) he came forward as a candidate for the city of Durham, in the room of Captain Fitzroy, appointed Governor of New Zealand. Mr. Bright only appeared as a candidate on the very day of the nomination, well knowing that he was fighting on a forlorn hope. Lord Dungannon, his opponent, had the advantage of family influence, which had been exercised through a careful canvass, while Mr. Bright had nothing to trust to but his cause and his power of pleading it. His speech was, as might have been expected, a vigorous onslaught upon the system of which the Corn-Law was the expression—an attack, carried out with all the force of which he was master, upon the law that impoverished the many in order to keep up the rents of the few. “Men,” he said, “are almost fighting with each other for employment and wages and food. And no power under heaven can diminish that competition, or give increased comfort, or cause a steady demand for labour, unless it be the repeal of that law which diminishes the demand for labour, reduces wages, makes you compete with each other constantly and of necessity, and turns the whole force and beggary of this competition into the means of increasing the rental of the noble lords and landlords who made that law.”

Before a popular audience, it was evident that a respectable, quiet gentleman like Lord Dungannon could have no chance against the tremendous Quaker from Rochdale, who cared nothing for the influence of noble families and put the case of the workmen in so captivating a manner. The show of hands—it was in the days of an open hustings—was all in Mr. Bright's favour. Next day came the poll; Lord Dungannon received 507 votes and Mr. Bright 405—a much closer fight than any one could have foretold under the circumstances. Shortly afterwards the new member was unseated on petition; Mr. Bright again came forward, and, having by this time become well known to the Durham people and having a feeble candidate opposed to him, was elected by 488 votes to 410.

Mr. Bright took his seat on 28th July 1843, amid the acclamations of the Free Traders throughout the kingdom. He did not remain silent long, but delivered his maiden speech on 7th August on Mr. Ewart's motion in favour of carrying out the

recommendations of the Import Duties Commission of 1840. The House was thin—much thinner than would be the case at the present day on the occasion of the first appearance of a newly-elected member of great outside reputation ; but Mr. Bright, though to speak to empty benches was to him a novelty, made a vigorous oration which at once showed that he would be a power in the House as well as in the country. What was especially remarkable in this first utterance of his was its closing exhortation to Sir Robert Peel, whom Mr. Bright was already endeavouring to separate from his party and to convert into what he called a Minister of the people. “I should rejoice,” he said, “to see the right hon. baronet disconnect himself from the party whose principles he declares to be unsound. . . . He may have a laudable ambition—he may seek renown, but no man can be truly great who is content to serve an oligarchy who regard no interest but their own, and whose legislation proves that they have no sympathy with the wants of the great body of their countrymen.”

It was in the winter of this year that the celebrated election for the City of London took place, in which Mr. Thomas Baring and the Conservatives were beaten by Mr. Pattison, the Free Trade candidate. At the same time it was proposed to raise a fund of £100,000 in furtherance of the objects of the League, and at the first meeting in Manchester £12,500 were subscribed in the room. This was the occasion on which a leading article in the *Times* (November 1843) made the admission, so distasteful to the opponents of Free Trade, “The League is a great fact.” Soon afterwards the Marquis of Westminster sent £500 to the fund, and the League could boast of having secured in his person and in those of Mr. Jones-Loyd and Mr. Marshall, of Leeds, the three wealthiest living representatives of the noblemen, financiers, and manufacturers of the country.

In the coming session the Corn-Law question was twice raised in the House, though the most that the Free Traders could muster was about 130 votes. Mr. Bright spoke, of course, upon both occasions, and, indeed, he was not slow to turn every debate that referred in any way to “the condition of England question” into a means for advocating Repeal. But it had already been borne in upon the mind of the League that it was of little use to petition the existing Parliament. Instead, the

registers began to be looked into carefully, and in many parts of England with the most promising results; in Lancashire, for example, the majority for the Free Traders seemed secure. Cobden's famous suggestion that the party should secure its hold upon the counties by a large creation of forty shilling freeholders was widely adopted; and meanwhile the propaganda of the League doctrines did not slacken. The activity of the leaders grew all the greater as they began to see victory within their grasp.

Then came the potato famine, and its well-known results. The *Times* of the 4th of December 1845 startled the country by the announcement that Parliament would meet early in January, and that the Queen's Speech would announce the intention of Ministers to propose an immediate repeal of the Corn-Laws. In vain this statement was described in other journals as "an atrocious fabrication." The event proved that it was true. What followed is known to every one. The Ministerial crisis took place, Sir Robert resigned, and on the failure of Lord John Russell to form a Ministry was at once replaced in power, his Cabinet having only been modified by the substitution of Mr. Gladstone for Lord Stanley (the late Lord Derby) as Secretary for the Colonies.

When Parliament met on 22nd January Sir Robert Peel announced that his opinions on the Corn Laws were completely changed, and during the next week, in a long and elaborate speech, he set forth the programme of the Government. The Corn-Laws were to cease to exist at the end of three years. In the meantime the duty was to be reduced to a *maximum* of 10s., falling to the *minimum* of 4s. when the price of wheat reached 53s. per quarter. Grain from British colonies was to be admitted free of duty, and Indian corn at a nominal duty, while many hundreds of miscellaneous articles were to be struck out of the tariff.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the general aspects of this celebrated debate and of those which followed it, made historical as they were, not only by the importance of the issues involved, but by the philippics which Mr. Disraeli delivered against his former leader. We need only remark upon the part which Mr. Bright took. He spoke with all his accustomed animation, and warmed by a generosity that was inspired by the consciousness of success. Speaking on the night after the Prime Minister,

"I watched the right hon. baronet as he went home last night, and for the first time I envied him his feelings. That speech has circulated by scores of thousands throughout the kingdom and throughout the world ; and wherever a man is to be found who loves justice, and wherever there is a labourer whom you have trampled under foot, that speech will bring joy to the heart of the one and hope to the breast of the other."

Peel carried the abolition of the Corn-Laws, but could not take the house with him in other measures. He fell, as is well known, on the Irish Coercion Bill, and Lord John Russell reigned in his stead, with Lord Palmerston for Foreign Secretary, Sir George Grey at the Home Office, and Macaulay as Paymaster-General, with a seat in the Cabinet. The expected dissolution took place in 1847, and Mr. Bright was at once requested by the Liberals of Manchester to become their representative. He could not decline an invitation from the capital of his own county and the centre of the population among whom he had spent his life. He parted regretfully from Durham, and with the late Mr. Milner-Gibson presented himself to the Manchester electors, to be returned without a contest. In the same year he married for the second time, his wife being Miss Margaret Elizabeth Leatham, daughter of the well-known Wakefield banker.

The Free Trade controversy once settled, Mr. Bright had time to turn his mind to other great questions—Ireland, India, Russia, and Parliamentary reform. With these his name is inseparably associated, while few other questions of importance, domestic or international, could be seriously discussed in Parliament during the years of his prime without some elaborate contribution from him. His speeches on the Civil War in America, for example, did much to keep the advanced Liberal party firm in its allegiance to the cause of the North ; and, again, whenever in or out of Parliament the question of religious establishments has been raised, he has always had something effective to say in defence of those principles of pure voluntarism in which he was brought up. Collateral questions, of which the three most important have been Church Rates, University Tests, and Burials, always found in him a powerful partisan, and few finer speeches were ever made by him than that which he made just before the Burials question was finally settled. He also made several speeches in favour of

the Abolition of Capital Punishment. In this review of his career, however, we must confine ourselves to the chief of those questions which during his long life were advanced or illustrated by his energy and eloquence, and first of these, after the Corn-Laws, ranks Ireland. "You have toiled at this Irish difficulty," he said to the House in 1848, "session after session, and some of you have grown almost from boyhood to gray-headed old men since it first met you in your legislative career; and yet there is not in ancient or modern history a picture so humiliating as that which Ireland presents to the world at this moment." This was Mr. Bright's language just after the potato famine; and it is, unhappily, language which is not wholly inapplicable in 1889.

Speaking generally, it may be said that Mr. Bright, in the views which he has from the beginning expressed on Irish matters, anticipated all the legislation of recent years. He never was wholly opposed to Coercion Acts; he saw their necessity in 1817 as he saw it in 1882 and in 1887. Quaker though he was, and author of the phrase, "Force is no remedy," he was early convinced that unless you sometimes employ force you may have no opportunity of applying your remedy. But in the main his treatment of Irish questions may be described as a long endeavour to discover such remedies for Irish grievances as should satisfy the wants of reasonable men, and should make the phrase, "the United Kingdom," the expression of a fact. From the beginning he always attacked the Irish Church Establishment in the most uncompromising way. In 1850 he wrote a letter to the late Sir John Gray detailing an elaborate scheme for buying out the Established Church from its connection with the State, for bestowing a reasonable endowment upon the Roman Catholics and upon the Presbyterians, and for bidding them go their own way and manage their own affairs. In 1853 he speaks of Ulster as purchasing Protestant ascendancy and paying the price in the ruin and degradation of their country; and about the same time he describes the question of Church Establishment as "the poisonous and pestilent question in Ireland." It is hardly necessary to go over ground so familiar as the history of the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, brought to an issue as it was in the general election of 1868, and in Mr. Gladstone's Bill of the following year. It is enough to say that of all the public advocates of such a measure

Mr. Bright had probably been the most persistent and the most influential.

The large majority with which Mr. Gladstone took office stood pledged to Disestablishment, and from the beginning of the session of 1869 no doubt remained that the Bill would pass the Commons, and that, though it would be opposed in the House of Lords, there also the reasons in its favour would prevail. Mr. Bright's speech on the second reading, which was delivered on 19th March, was generally considered at the time to be one of his greatest efforts, and it will probably continue to rank among them in the minds of future readers of his speeches. As was natural to one who brought into his politics a large amount of religious fervour, a measure which was intended, as he would put it, to make the political course of Ireland easier by liberating religion was likely to fill him with enthusiasm, and to urge him to flights of eloquence which no ordinary measure could have inspired. None who were present in the House at the time are likely to forget the words in which Mr. Bright supported the proposals for the distribution of the surplus, with which provision was to be made for the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the insane, when he said :

"We can do little, it is true. We cannot re-illumine the extinguished lamp of reason. We cannot make the deaf to hear ; we cannot make the dumb to speak. It is not given to us

' From the thick film to purge the visual ray,
And on the sightless eyeballs pour the day ; '

but at least we can lessen the load of affliction, and we can make life more tolerable to vast numbers who suffer ;"—or the fervid expressions of hope and trust in the future of Ireland when this Act and those which were to follow had had time to work. The Bill passed the Commons by large majorities, and in the House of Lords, in spite of the eloquence of the Bishop of Peterborough, the second reading was carried by 179 to 146. Then Mr. Bright and his friends began to prepare for dealing with the land question—a question to which, as recent experience has shown us, that of Disestablishment was but child's play. Early in 1870, addressing his constituents at Birmingham, Mr. Bright gave general expression to the principles which were to underlie the Government policy towards Ireland in the

coming session. His language, as was always the case when great Liberal measures were in contemplation, was the language of optimism—of an optimism in this case on which the history of recent years offers a melancholy comment. After describing in outline what was to be the new legislation, Mr. Bright proceeded :

“If we are able to suppress conspiracy ; if we are able to banish agrarian crime ; if we can unbar the prison doors ; if we can reduce the excess of military force ; if we can make Ireland as tranquil as England and Scotland now are ; then at least I think we may have done something to justify the wisdom and the statesmanship of our time.”

It is small wonder that, after entertaining with all the passion of which he was capable hopes like these, and after seeing his own measures carried into law, Mr. Bright should have been almost more profoundly depressed than any living Englishman by the Irish agitation of 1880-82 and its deplorable consequences. Of his action when Mr. Gladstone adopted the policy of Home Rule we shall speak later. As regards the first Land Bill, a breakdown in health in the early part of 1870 prevented Mr. Bright from taking any share in the debates. He gave his name to certain incomplete “purchase clauses,” which represented a part, and only a part, of a policy that he wished to see incorporated in the Bill, and which were all that a division of opinion in the Cabinet enabled him to introduce ; for Mr. Bright was at this time a Cabinet Minister. The general election of 1868 had returned, as we have said, a large Liberal majority to Parliament. It was a Disestablishment majority, and nothing could be more natural than that the man who had been foremost in his advocacy of Disestablishment should find a place in the Ministry which was to carry out that policy. Mr. Gladstone first proposed that Mr. Bright should become Secretary of State for India, but he shrank from so arduous a post on the ground of the state of his health, and finally accepted that of President of the Board of Trade. But his health gave way, and in December 1870 he resigned, to re-enter the Cabinet on its reconstruction in 1873 as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

To consider Mr. Bright's attitude towards the second of the four great subjects which we have specified, it is necessary to go back some twenty years. It was undoubtedly a bold measure

for Mr. Gladstone to propose in 1868 that Mr. Bright should become Secretary for India, though, indeed, the condition of the Indian Empire at that period was very different from what it had been in 1853, and even later, when Mr. Bright had thundered in the House of Commons and on public platforms against the enormities of the East India Company. His first important speech on the subject was delivered in June 1853, in the debate on Sir Charles Wood's Bill for the Better Government of India—a Bill which may be shortly described as attempting a *via media*, to reform the Company by introducing a number of Crown nominees on the Board of Directors. Mr. Bright was against any such compromise. He attacked the whole system of the Company's government. He thought the Leadenhall Street system far too irresponsible, and far too likely to produce a tyrannical and short-sighted method of government, and, moreover, he objected to its ill-defined and clumsy relations to the Board of Control. He said :

“If the Government thinks it right to have six good directors, let them abolish the twelve bad ones. . . . What, I should like to know, would have been done if India had been conquered by the troops of the Crown? We should then never have sent some thirty men into a by-street of London to distribute patronage and govern a great country. The government of India would then have been made a department of the Government, with a Council and a Minister of State. But it appears that the old system of *hocus pocus* is still to be carried on.”

The proposals of Mr. Bright were not carried into effect at the time, but four years later came the Indian Mutiny, and in the beginning of the session of 1858 Lord Palmerston's Government introduced a Bill for putting the possessions of the East India Company under the direct authority of the Crown. Then came the Conspiracy Bill and the fall of Lord Palmerston, after which the question was taken up by the new Government ; a second India Bill was introduced and withdrawn, and a third India Bill, which ultimately became law, was brought in in the month of June. It was on this occasion that Mr. Bright proposed a great measure of decentralisation, going so far as to suggest the abolition of the office of Governor-General and the construction of five presidencies, with capitals at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Agra, and Lahore. Mr. Bright proposed also

a large number of remedial measures, and the issuing of a proclamation offering a general amnesty, maintaining the sacredness of adoption, and announcing complete equality in all religions. Again, in the same session, we find him speaking with great force and eloquence in defence of a despatch of Lord Ellenborough's condemning the proclamation in which Lord Canning had threatened something like confiscation to the talookdars, or landowners, of Oude. Next year he took up the question of Indian finance, and spoke very earnestly on Sir Charles Wood's proposal to raise a loan of £5,000,000 for the Indian Exchequer. He dwelt on the alarming financial condition of India, and on the great and increasing responsibilities which this country was undertaking with regard to it, and after enlarging upon the vast and increasing expenditure, he asked what was the end to which things must come. "Either," he replied, "the Government of India must come to an end, or England itself must become tributary to India"; and in a peroration, which, though it excited great anger in some quarters, yet had a powerful effect of another kind in others, he added :

"I hope that you will not show to the world that although your fathers conquered the country you have not the ability to govern it. . . . I hope that no future historian will have to say that the arms of England in India were irresistible, and that an ancient Empire fell before their victorious progress, yet that finally India was avenged, because the power of her conqueror was broken by the intolerable burdens and evils which she cast upon her victim, and that this wrong was accomplished by a waste of human life and a waste of wealth which England, with all her power, was unable to bear."

The subsequent occasions on which Mr. Bright has spoken on Indian affairs have not been very numerous, but his language has always been of the same kind ; his cry has uniformly been that the responsibilities of the Empire were so great already that a wise policy should aim rather at diminishing than at extending them. He has, therefore, been always opposed to frontier wars, more especially to the last Afghan War, and he has always warmly supported any measures for the development of the native resources of India.

Another marked and important episode in Mr. Bright's career is that of his opposition to the Crimean War. Both in

and out of Parliament he was from the beginning consistently opposed to anything which might lead to war, and when war had broken out he anxiously sought to suggest opportunities for bringing it to an end. His first public speech against intervention was at that curious conference of the Peace Society at Edinburgh on the 13th of October 1853, when Sir Charles Napier had ventured to present himself among the quiet people there assembled and to put in a vehement plea in favour of large armaments and of "soldiers as the best peacemakers." The external agitation against the war was, however, of a very limited kind. Cobden himself regretted afterwards that he had not tried to raise Yorkshire; and in the Lancashire towns, as throughout the country, the advocates of military measures had their own way completely. The biographer of Cobden says:

"The tide of popular passion rose with extraordinary rapidity. The tardiness of the diplomatists gave time for all that deep anger with which the people of England had watched the Tsar's proceedings in Hungary, five years before, to burst forth with a vehemence that soon became uncontrollable. The statesmen who ought to have exercised a counteracting control over it were hurried off their feet. Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston were rivals for popularity, and neither could endure to surrender the prize to the other by making a stand against the public frenzy."

Mr. Bright made at least three of his most moving and eloquent speeches in the House of Commons against the war, but without avail. Nothing that he ever said was more effective than his allusions to Colonel Boyle and Colonel Blair, lost for ever to their colleagues in the House, or than the famous passage where, in the midst of dead silence, he told the House of Commons "the Angel of Death has been abroad throughout the land; you may almost hear the beating of his wings." The position of Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden, who acted in complete harmony on this matter, as on every other, has often been misunderstood, and Mr. Kinglake has gone so far as to say that Mr. Bright's condemnation of that particular war failed because he was known to be opposed to all wars. He may have been so, though Cobden was certainly not; but he was always careful in his speeches at that time, as he was careful in 1877, to base his opposition to a war between England and Russia on the

ground of British interests. He was even attacked for taking a mean and low view of national duty when he showed at the Peace Conference to which we have referred that the mere rumour of war had already cost this country no less than £200,000,000 sterling; and he was always ready to argue with the supporters of what was called a policy of action on the ground that the true interests of the vast working population of this country demanded an understanding with Russia, and not a quarrel.

The agitation and excitement of this stormy period had the result of breaking down Mr. Bright's health. His nervous system was for the time greatly shattered, and early in the year 1856 he was compelled to withdraw from public life. Lord Brougham offered him his villa at Cannes, but Mr. Bright preferred to spend some months in Yorkshire, at the shooting-box of his friend, Mr. Edward Ellice, at Glengarry, and at Haddo House. In the autumn he left England for Algiers and Nice, and in January, finding himself but little better, he offered to resign his seat for Manchester. The offer was not accepted, but two months later there came the Parliamentary defeat of Lord Palmerston on the question of the quarrel with China. A dissolution followed. Mr. Bright was unable to fight his own battle, and without his powerful voice to aid his cause that cause was defeated. He and Mr. Milner Gibson were rejected, to the consternation of the Advanced Liberal party throughout the country. But a few months later, though he was compelled to abstain from taking an active part in public affairs of any kind, it was proposed that he should fill a vacancy in the representation of Birmingham, and he was elected without opposition to the seat, which he continued to hold until Birmingham was divided by the Act of 1885, after which he was chosen for the Central Division.

The period was approaching in which Parliamentary reform was about to occupy the first place among English political questions; and, next to the cause of Free Trade, there is no doubt that it was on this question that Mr. Bright spoke with the most consistent force, directness, and effect. The struggle that preceded 1832 came at a critical moment for him—at that moment when the boy was passing into the man, and when the eagerness of youth would lead him to fasten earnestly upon the questions of the day. From the beginning to the end of his

public life it may be said that Mr. Bright was consistent in the cause of Parliamentary reform ; as a lad he was eager for the Bill of 1832, as a man of middle age he took the lead in the popular agitation for the Bill of 1867, and as an old man, at a time when his health and strength were failing, he spoke powerfully in support of the County Franchise Bill of 1884.

We need here only refer to his conduct with regard to the great measure brought in by Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone, and to Mr. Disraeli's measure which took its place in the following year. No doubt the former was Mr. Gladstone's Bill, and not Mr. Bright's ; the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and not the member for Birmingham, had the responsibility for its provisions, and had the task of steering it through the House of Commons till it was wrecked on the rock of Lord Dunkellin's motion. But it is no exaggeration to say that the outside force which brought the question to the forefront of practical politics, and which in the following year compelled Mr. Disraeli not only to handle it, but to present it ultimately in a form even more thorough than Mr. Gladstone had ventured to advocate, was due in the first place to Mr. Bright. In January 1865, in a speech to his constituents at Birmingham, he sounded the note of Reform in a manner which all could understand, and which neither Government nor Opposition could afford to neglect. "I speak," he said, "out of no hostility to any class or any institution. That man who proposes to exclude permanently five millions of his countrymen from the right which the Constitution makes sacred in his eyes — I say that is the man who separates Englishmen into two nations, and makes it impossible that we should be wholly or permanently a contented people."

When Parliament was dissolved in the following July, Parliamentary Reform was the question for the country, and Mr. Bright's speech at his unopposed nomination was in reality a complete statement of the case in favour of such a measure as was introduced next year. Then on 18th October Lord Palmerston died ; and early in the next session Mr. Gladstone brought forward the Government Reform Bill. The debates which followed were made memorable by the speeches delivered against the Bill by Mr. Horsman and Mr. Lowe, to whose arguments and assertions Mr. Bright especially continued to address himself, both in the House of Commons and out of doors. The occasion was worthy of the contest, for though

the immediate proposal was merely the enfranchisement of some 400,000 voters, of very much the same class as many of those who already possessed the franchise, still no careful watcher of events could doubt that now, once for all, was to be settled the question of democratic reform in England. It is unnecessary to tell over again the story of the means by which the Bill itself was defeated, of the resignation of the Government, of the accession of Mr. Disraeli to power, of the organisation of the Reform League, of the demonstrations at Birmingham and Manchester, of the Hyde Park riots, and of the new measure, moderate enough in its first introduction, but transformed during the dinner hour of one day of the debate by Mr. Disraeli's acceptance of an amendment giving household suffrage pure and simple to the boroughs.

Mr. Bright's part in the whole affair was that of the authorised spokesman and champion of the working classes, whom he felt it a duty to defend against the too indiscriminate indictments of Mr. Lowe. When the day came for the Bill to be read a third time in the House of Commons Mr. Lowe made a speech accepting the inevitable, and putting in his famous plea for the necessity of compulsory education, on the ground that, now the working classes were to sway the polls, "we must induce our masters to learn their letters." The bitterest speech of the evening was delivered by Lord Cranborne, now Marquis of Salisbury, who had seceded from Mr. Disraeli's Cabinet, and who, with merciless persistency and cruel logic, throwing his incisive phrases one after another at the Treasury Bench, demonstrated that the Bill, as the House was about to pass it, was not the Bill of the Conservative Government at all, but a Bill which had been transformed by Mr. Gladstone according to the principles of Mr. Bright.

We have already spoken of the general election of 1868, and of Mr. Bright's entry into the Cabinet. The present generation, which has justly come to regard him as by no means one of the most extreme of the Liberal leaders, and as, in fact, more Conservative—he has said so himself—than many of the influential persons by whom he was surrounded, can hardly understand the impression which this event made upon Mr. Bright's own contemporaries. By the Conservatives, who had fought for privilege in 1832, for protection in 1845, and for all the other relics of a bygone age which the legislation of the following

twenty years swept away—nay, even by the moderate Liberals, who had been accustomed to see a Whig Government composed almost exclusively of members of aristocratic families, this admission of a popular leader into the charmed circle was regarded as a portentous sign of the times. Yet no very alarming results flowed from it, and the world in general came to admit that if this was the logical consequence of the Reform Act of 1867, that Act, the passage of which had been witnessed with such keen apprehensions, was likely to do but little harm.

The truth is that, though Mr. Bright made many fine speeches after 1868, especially at his annual visits to his constituents at Birmingham, after the first two or three years of Mr. Gladstone's first Ministry he ceased to take that active part in regard to public affairs which he had held till then. He had been greatly moved by the death of Cobden in 1865; in 1870, as we have said, a second attack of his old illness compelled him to withdraw for a period from public life; and in 1878 a fresh blow fell upon him in the sudden death of his wife. During the latter period of his life, from 1870 onwards, his speeches, with a few noteworthy exceptions, had too much the character of political retrospects, and though his immediate audiences seemed to like them none the less on that account, those with a long memory for politics who read the reports in the newspapers came to weary somewhat of his reiterated demonstrations of all the good that had accrued to England from Liberal agitation and Liberal legislation during the past half century. When, however, there was an attack to be made upon what he considered an abuse, or upon a course of policy which he believed to be disastrous, Mr. Bright retained much of his old fire; and his speeches at Birmingham in 1877 against the idea of a Turkish alliance, and afterwards against the Afghan and Zulu Wars, were as animated and as effective as those of his best days.

When the general election of 1880 returned Mr. Gladstone to power with an immense majority, Mr. Bright again entered his Cabinet on the understanding that his share was to be consultative, and that a *minimum* of departmental work was to be expected of him. He remained in office until the middle of 1882, and resigned, as our readers will remember, on account of the bombardment of the Alexandrian forts, his long devotion

to the cause of peace not permitting him to form part of a Government that was entering upon war. During these two years he frequently spoke in defence of the Government measures, especially of the Irish Land Bill of 1881, while he did not shrink from supporting, on the other hand, the coercive measures which it was found necessary to apply to Ireland, and the means which were taken by the House of Commons to maintain its own independence and efficiency against the Obstructionists.

In the years that immediately followed his resignation, Mr. Bright did not appear very frequently before the public. There were, however, two notable exceptions in 1883—in March, when, having been elected Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, he delivered the customary address to students, and in June, when the town of Birmingham celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his political connection with that borough. At Glasgow Mr. Bright admitted that he had had but little to do with universities, and his speech, to tell the truth, had little to do with University studies; but it was interesting in itself, and interesting indirectly, since exactly one hundred years before 1883 the post of Lord Rector had been held by another illustrious public man and another great master of English, Edmund Burke. The ceremonial at Birmingham had a more strictly personal interest, for of the vast crowds that lined the streets—and it was said that they numbered several hundreds of thousands—there was hardly a man or a woman who did not look upon the great popular representative with feelings of deep affection as well as of admiration. Two years later, in the election of 1885, before the old party lines had become confused by Mr. Gladstone's evolutions on the Irish question, Mr. Bright's seat was attacked by Lord Randolph Churchill, that being the first occasion in which Birmingham was broken up into several separate constituencies; but though the gallant invader made a good fight he was easily defeated, and in the general election of 1886 Mr. Bright was returned unopposed. By that time, however, he had taken the important step on which all his subsequent political action depended. He had declined in the strongest possible way to follow Mr. Gladstone in his advocacy of Home Rule for Ireland.

This decision of Mr. Bright's was undoubtedly of immense importance to the Unionist cause. It is true that his speaking

days were nearly over, that owing to his advanced age he could not be counted on as an active soldier in the struggle which then began ; but the weight of his authority made him almost as valuable an ally as even Lord Hartington or Mr. Chamberlain. In the one important speech delivered in 1886, that in which he thanked his constituents for electing him (1st July), he recalled with just pride his own long services in the cause of "justice to Ireland"; he pointed out that for twenty-three years before Mr. Gladstone took up the Irish question he himself had been urging remedial legislation, and he rightly claimed no small share of whatever credit is to attach to the Liberal party for disestablishing the Irish Church and for reforming the Irish Land Laws. It was natural that large numbers of the English and the Scottish people, to whom the name of John Bright had for forty years been synonymous with an impassioned regard for the rights of the many, should be profoundly moved when they heard him denouncing as rash, headstrong, and pernicious the new policy to which Mr. Gladstone was striving to pledge the Liberal party. From the time of the first announcement of a Home Rule policy down to the last months of his life Mr. Bright continued to remind the country that his opinion was unchanged. He only spoke once, at the Liberal Unionist banquet to Lord Hartington in August 1887, partly because speaking on any exciting topic was more than his strength would permit, and partly, as he said in a letter dated 7th December 1886, because he could not bear to attack his old friend and leader. He said :

"The course taken by Mr. Gladstone since the close of the session has astonished me and given me great trouble. His speaking and writing, and especially his reception of the Irish deputation, seem to me to have driven him so far on a wrong course that we can have no hope of any more moderate policy from him. If I had to speak, what could I say? I could only deplore and condemn, and it would be impossible to avoid opening still more widely the breach which now exists between us and which has given me so much pain. . . . I abstain from attacking him on account of my personal regard for him, which cannot greatly diminish."

In point of fact the July speech, to which we have already referred, was followed by a long letter of protest from Mr. Gladstone, who was indignant at the charge that he had taken

his party by surprise in going over to Mr. Parnell. Mr. Bright, like a plain, sensible man, answered that he, with all the rest of the world, had supposed that when Mr. Gladstone at the end of 1885 had asked for a majority over the Conservatives and Parnellites combined, he had meant the Liberals to believe that he desired to oppose Mr. Parnell ; and the rest of the answer was equally simple and equally conclusive. But, of course, it had no effect upon Mr. Gladstone's mind, and we can easily understand that Mr. Bright shrank from further personal controversy with his lost leader. Though Mr. Bright felt strongly down to the close of his life about Mr. Gladstone's recent political conduct, the two statesmen resumed their friendly personal relations, and in the course of Mr. Bright's last illness affectionate messages passed between them.

If, however, he did not speak on platforms or in the House of Commons, Mr. Bright continued to serve the cause of the Union by frequent letters. Acquaintances and strangers wrote to him from time to time for his opinion on the question of the day, and, though he always used to declare himself an unwilling letter-writer, he was never remiss in answering. We may quote a few typical sentences from these letters. On 31st May 1886 he wrote —and the truth of his remark will not be doubted by any person whose political memory is good : “ If Mr. Gladstone's great authority were withdrawn from these Bills I doubt if twenty members outside the Irish party in the House of Commons would support them.” Three weeks later he wrote to Mr. Caine : “ At this moment it is notorious that scores of members of the House of Commons have voted with the Government who in private have condemned the Irish Bills.” In the same month, in a letter to Mr. Peter Rylands, he said :

“ It is grievous to see with what bitterness Liberals can treat Liberals whose fault is that they have consistently supported the principles which *all* Liberals accepted less than a year ago. Honesty and capacity in a member are with some of small value in comparison with the suppleness which enables him to turn his back upon himself when a great political leader changes his mind and his course.”

In November he repeated the same charge, applying it more definitely to “ clubs and political associations,” which, he said, “ mainly support Mr. Gladstone on the Irish question ; a year ago they would have repudiated any candidate who was

in favour of a Dublin Parliament." In later letters he formulated more precisely his principal objections to a Home Rule policy—namely, that it ignored the interests of two million Loyalists; that it was advocated and paid for by the enemies of England in the United States; that it would infallibly lead to separation, to the injury of England and the ruin of Ireland. Mr. Bright was especially interested in the articles of the *Times* on "Parnellism and Crime," and throughout his prolonged last illness he continued to express the keenest interest in the proceedings of the special Commission. To Mr. Arthur Elliot Mr. Bright wrote in October 1887:

"Mr. Parnell's right hand clasps the hand of Mr. Gladstone on this side of the Atlantic, and with the other he maintains a fraternal greeting with the gang in New York by whom outrage and murder were and are deemed patriotism in Ireland, and who collect the funds out of which more than half the Irish party in the Parliament at Westminster receive their weekly and monthly pay to insult the Speaker and to make useful legislation impossible."

Mr. Bright was not afraid of supporting the Crimes Act, regarding it as a painful necessity and as the only means by which government could continue to exist in the face of such an organisation as that of the National League. He described his position thus:

"Force is no remedy for a just discontent, but it is a remedy, and often the only remedy, for the disorder and the violence against which our laws are provided. I supported the Acts of Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1881 and 1882 to put down the Land League and the disorder in Ireland; I now support the Government in their endeavour to suppress the rebel movement of the National League, which is the Land League under another name."

It can easily be supposed that Mr. Bright did not thus separate himself from the majority of the party for which he had worked so long without the deepest pain. He found himself opposed not only by his own colleagues in the Ministry and in the House of Commons, but by many, though not by any means by all, of his brother Quakers, by his personal friends, and even by members of his own family; and this to a man whose main interests had been political was a cause of sincere grief. But he saw no help for it; he could not turn

round upon the convictions of a lifetime ; and he remained "constant as the northern star" to the traditions of Liberalism as it was always understood up to the month of December 1885. "I am," he wrote in one of his later letters, "and always have been, against having two Parliaments in the United Kingdom, and so long as the Liberal and Gladstone policy is in favour of two Parliaments, I must follow my own judgment and conscience, and not the voice of any party leader."

When Mr. Bright was but thirty years of age Alexander Somerville, "The Whistler at the Plough," wrote of him : "John Bright is, in talent, a second Peel ; he was born in the same atmosphere. Let his career be observed—he has entered upon it." The comparison with Peel was not altogether happy, but the instinct which told Somerville that the young Friend possessed abilities of the first order was true enough, and Parliament, as well as the people of the North, was soon to admit the truth of it. In spite of obloquy, in spite of the opposition which he was too contentious and too outspoken to disarm, Mr. Bright steadily made his way, until he gained the unquestioned position of one who was at once the authorised spokesman and the trusted adviser of the working classes throughout the country. He was conscious of this position ; he was keenly conscious of its responsibilities. He was fully alive to the fact that on a statesman whom the people trust there lies the duty of holding the people back when their objects are unsound, just as much as the duty of urging them forward when their object is legitimate and beneficial.

A curious and little-known instance may be quoted here. When the Tichborne case was before the public, Mr. Bright, whom a profound study of the evidence had brought to the conclusion that the Claimant was an impostor, thought very seriously of issuing a manifesto in that sense to the working classes, multitudes of whom he saw led astray by the sophisms of the Claimant's counsel and by a natural and generous desire to side with the weaker. He came to see that he had better let the superstition die out, but the example is characteristic of that constant desire of his to see justice and right reason hold sway in the minds of the people. With this simplicity of purpose, it was natural that he should be really conservative in his methods, distrustful of new-fangled devices in politics, like the "fancy franchises" and the minority vote, distrustful

of woman suffrage ; above all, firmly resolved to grant nothing which could impair the sovereignty of Parliament. With these feelings there went, in him, a certain distrust of other and more legitimate objects and influences—he disliked, for example, the representation of the Universities on the governing bodies of local grammar schools, and his antipathy to Church Establishments went beyond the bounds of reason. For he had “the defects of his qualities”—the limitations of a man who had been imperfectly educated in his youth, and whose early associations were somewhat narrow, provincial, and Puritan. But it is an immense thing for a leader of vast masses of men to be absolutely pure, loyal, and disinterested ; and great has been the fortune of England that in so critical a period of her history—the period of the enfranchisement of the working classes—the acknowledged leader of those newly-enfranchised men was one so pure, so loyal, so disinterested as John Bright.

LEADING ARTICLE, THURSDAY, MARCH 28, 1889

An unique figure has disappeared from the political scene. The death of Mr. Bright, after his long illness, of which the vicissitudes were anxiously followed by the public, cannot be said to have come as a surprise, but it has certainly come as a shock upon the national mind. It is difficult to conceive of the House of Commons without Mr. Bright as one, at all events, of its potential members. His manhood and his age have measured the political movement of two generations, and he had already entered upon a third, in which new ideas and new conditions were becoming dominant. We narrate elsewhere the principal events of his public life, which witnessed the overthrow of aristocratic government in England, the rise and progress of middle-class rule, the struggle for the admission of the artisans to political power, and, finally, the enfranchisement of the rural labourers. The successive questions which formed the battle-ground of this long controversy drew forth Mr. Bright's strength as a Parliamentary orator and a “tribune of the people,” and though there was a certain monotony in his invective and a certain narrowness in his convictions, he never failed, whether in the right or in the wrong, whether defeated or triumphant, to impress his personality upon the public imagination. He was essentially a popular leader, rather than

a Parliamentary statesman ; he scarcely aspired to striking legislative achievements, or to the fame of administrative success ; but there never was less of the popularity-hunter in any public man. The severity of temper, the concentrated heat of passion, the rigorous conception of duty, the combative force of character which distinguished Mr. Bright were most conspicuous when he had arrayed against him, to use the slang of recent politics, not only the classes, but the masses. Much of what constituted both his weakness and his strength came from his Puritan origin and training ; much, also, from the fortunate circumstance which brought him, early in his career, into close association with a man so different from him in his gifts and so thoroughly in agreement with him on all questions of principle as Richard Cobden.

The impression which Mr. Bright has left on the history of his own time was produced more by his moral than by his intellectual qualities. He started in life with a stock of political ideas which he hardly thought of enlarging or modifying, and which he applied with a resolute optimism unquelled by a long series of disappointments. He had witnessed the successful working out of all those changes in political machinery which at the time he entered public life were advocated by the party of reform. The results, however, failed to realise his sanguine predictions. The victory achieved by the Anti-Corn-Law League over English Protectionism—an enterprise in which he had so glorious a share—has not been followed by the rapid spread of free-trade principles throughout the civilised world. The policy of concessions to Ireland within the limits of the Constitution, of which Mr. Bright was the earnest and consistent advocate, has not prevented the rise to power in the sister island of that which he eloquently condemned as a “rebel party” associated with and dependent upon the alien enemies of this country. The extension of the suffrage, through which political power in every part of the kingdom has passed into the hands of the working classes, has left as yet almost untouched the objects of Mr. Bright’s early animosity, the Church Establishment and the House of Peers, the traditional foreign and colonial policy of the Empire, which refuses to be restricted within merely insular limits, and those military and naval services which, to his fervid imagination, seemed nothing better than sacrifices to a “foul idol.”

The truth is that the problems of practical politics are more complicated than Mr. Bright could be brought to see, and thus it was that he failed to add much of importance to the sum of political thought and argument. Yet his voice was always potent as a moral force while he was still able to speak on the platform and in Parliament, and the vigorous letters from his pen on public affairs during the past three years brought home to the conscience of Englishmen those aspects of the Irish controversy which mere politicians find it convenient to ignore.

What Mr. Matthew Arnold finally said of Byron may be applied, with absolute truth, to Mr. Bright's influence in politics: "He taught us little, but our soul had felt him like the thunder's roll." It was often observed that he had something of the Hebrew prophet about him, and his style was strongly coloured with the characteristics of the prophetic books—the solemn appeal to the inborn sense of duty and the tribunal of conscience, the stern rebuke of levity and vanity, the grave accents of righteous indignation, the terrible chastisement of bitter irony or mocking scorn. The leonine aspect of the orator, his striking features, set most commonly in an expression of Puritanic severity and even sadness, softened, however, by an occasional gleam of humour in the eye or touch of pathos about the mouth, riveted the attention before he rose to speak. Everything was in harmony with the matter and manner of the speech, and though Mr. Bright often failed to convince, none who listened to him could doubt that his oratory reached, if not the very highest level, at least a level higher than that attained by any other Englishman of our time. "By pride made stately and by anger strong," it caused the heart to throb and the blood to tingle. The deep, but clear and melodious, voice, the deliberate and distinct utterance, the rare and carefully-controlled gestures instinct with impressive dignity, the wealth of sarcasm and of pathos, combined to produce an indelible effect. But the peculiar quality of Mr. Bright's eloquence was that no one could conceive it to be turned on to order. Those who differed from him as well as those who agreed with him—and no contemporary orator had, perhaps, an equal gift of rousing opposition—felt always that what Mr. Bright had to say came from the depths of his soul. Its logic might be faulty, its fairness might be questionable, but of its

earnestness there could not at any time be the faintest shadow of doubt.

A perfect command of plain, straightforward, pellucid English, not, however, without an appreciative and discriminating use of the richer and more picturesque elements of literary colouring drawn from the classical languages, gives Mr. Bright's speeches a high place among the most admirable models of oratorical style. He was not sparing in the use of quotations whether for serious or for humorous purposes. His mind was well stored with the results of varied reading, especially among the earlier English poets. Next to the Bible the books which left the deepest traces on Mr. Bright's oratory were Spenser and Milton, but he quoted freely and with much effect from less known writers, such as Samuel Daniel and George Wither. He sought always for something that addressed itself to the human conscience, and, strongly as he believed in the democratic doctrine, intolerantly as he often opposed the rights of minorities, no man was less willing, for one instant, to subordinate the voice of duty to the voice of a majority. His deepest feelings were expressed in a striking couplet from one of his Puritan favourites, which he introduced into one of his Birmingham speeches :

There is on earth a yet angustier thing,
Veiled tho' it be, than Parliament or King.

He appealed always to the high tribunal that is seated in the breast of every responsible human being.

It was this feeling which sustained him during his later years, when he had to bear the pain of a breach with Mr. Gladstone and with the majority of the Liberal party. Mr. Bright's moral sense had been revolted by what he conceived to be the profoundly immoral character of the Irish movement headed by Mr. Parnell. Proud as he was of having led the Anti-Corn-Law agitation, which won its victories by addressing the conscience and the reason, he thought it his duty to separate himself publicly from those who, as he sincerely believed and repeatedly asserted, had resorted to the weapons of terrorism and outrage, and played a double game by posing in Parliament as constitutional politicians while confederated with and subsidised by the avowed enemies of England and the Union. Mr. Bright exposed and denounced this alliance in the House of Commons amid the cheers of the men who have since, at the orders of Mr. Gladstone, entered into close alliance with the Parnellites ; and

no one, not even Mr. Gladstone himself, was assailed, at the time, from the Parnellite benches with more indecent brutality. The independence of Mr. Bright's character forbade him to palter with his conscience for the sake of securing the success of his party, and, painful as it was to him to have to see questions postponed in which he was deeply interested, he never for a moment hesitated in his course, but unflinchingly obeyed the call of duty. Herein he was consistent with the rule of his public life, throughout which, popular leader though he was, he repeatedly faced unpopularity when he might have won applause by suppressing his convictions. This spirit it is that has hitherto kept English politics from putrefaction. It will be an evil day, indeed, when it is exchanged for any intellectual gifts, however splendid, or any Parliamentary arts, however ingenious. Mr. Bright was, in our opinion, often in the wrong and not seldom unjust to those from whom he differed, but his manly independence and his strong sense of conscientious obligation will not be soon forgotten even by those of his countrymen who did not share his political faith.

LORD MALMESBURY

OBITUARY NOTICE, SATURDAY. MAY 18, 1889

THE Right Hon. James Howard Harris, G.C.B., D.C.L., third Earl of Malmesbury, was born on the 25th of March 1807, so that he had completed his eighty-second year. Though the family from which he sprang has only been ennobled a century, one of its early representatives was settled upon his own estate in Wiltshire at the commencement of the sixteenth century. The first earl was a diplomatist, and a friend of the Prince Regent. He died in 1820. The second earl was for a short time Under-Secretary to the Foreign Office, and subsequently Governor of the Isle of Wight. He married a daughter of Mr. F. B. Dashwood, of Well Vale, and their eldest son was the nobleman whose death we now record. The late Lord Malmesbury's charming *Memoirs of an ex-Minister*, published in 1884, give a full account of his life. He was educated first at a private school at Wimborne, whence he proceeded to Eton. Here he was fag to Trench, brother of the ex-Archbishop of Dublin. He inherited much of his father's love of outdoor exercise and sport, being till late in life an excellent sportsman, and delighting in his visits to his Scotch shooting-box at Achmacarry.

At Wimborne and Eton he was not noted for his application to study. "We used to search *Moore's Almanac* for obituaries of great men," he says in his *Memoirs*, speaking of his Wimborne days, "and each hero's anniversary was considered too sacred for school work." On going up to Eton he was accompanied by his tutor Bowle, who did his lessons for him, while the pupil boated and shot moor-hens. In 1825 he proceeded to Oriel College, Oxford. Copleston was Provost, and Tyler Dean,

Durnford and Newman were tutors. "Of this last celebrated writer and divine, and now a Cardinal," he remarks, "no one at that time would have predicted the future career." Some other observations which he made respecting Newman as a tutor have since been traversed by the Cardinal.

After taking his degree in 1827, Lord Malmesbury (then Lord Fitzharris) travelled abroad. He gives an entertaining account of these travels and of the famous people whose acquaintance he made. He became great friends with the Countess Guiccioli, who told him much concerning Lord Byron, his eccentricities, his writings, and his habits. At Rome he met with Queen Hortense and her son, Louis Napoleon, then just of age. "He was a wild, harum-scarum youth, or what the French call *un crâne*, riding at full gallop down the streets to the peril of the public, fencing, and pistol-shooting, and apparently without serious thoughts of any kind, although even then he was possessed with the conviction that he would some day rule over France. We became friends, but at that time he evinced no remarkable talent, or any fixed idea but the one I mention. It grew upon him with his growth, and increased daily until it ripened into a certainty." Lord Fitzharris returned to England in the midst of the Reform fever, and upon this, in 1831-32, the cholera trouble supervened. He suffered like many others from the cholera, and carried a small bottle of spirits of wine about with him to relieve the spasms.

In 1834 Lord Fitzharris made the acquaintance of Lord Derby, then Lord Stanley, which ripened into a mutual and sincere friendship, lasting until the latter's death in 1869. In 1838 we find him visiting the crofters in Skye, and his observations upon their condition will be of interest at the present moment. "I found the state of the population," he observes, "rather deteriorated than otherwise since my last visit. The crofters seem to have entirely worked out their plots and have no manure to refresh them. Lord Macdonald has done all he could to improve their position by building new and clean cottages; but so fond are they of their old state of dirt that they pulled up the planks of the floor, preferring to lie on the bare ground. What is to be done with these Celts?" In the year 1845 Lord Malmesbury went to visit Louis Napoleon in the Castle of Ham, where he had been a prisoner since 1840. The Prince recounted the causes of his failure at Boulogne, and

said that now the soldiers had mostly been gained, while the prestige of his name in the French army was universal. To prove this he said, "You see the sentry under my window. I do not know whether he is one of mine or not ; if he is he will cross his arms, if not he will do nothing when I make a sign." The Prince went to the window and stroked his moustache, but there was no response until three were relieved, when the soldier answered by crossing his arms over his musket. The Prince then said, "You see that my partisans are unknown to me, and so am I to them. My power is in an immortal name, and in that only ; but I have waited long enough, and cannot endure imprisonment any longer." Not many weeks after this interview Lord Malmesbury was in London, returning home from White's Club, when to his great surprise he found himself stopped in the street by Prince Louis Napoleon, who had just landed in England after his escape from Ham.

Lord Malmesbury has stated that when the great disruption of the Tory party took place under Sir Robert Peel in 1846 he for the first time took a strong part in politics—not from any liking of that stormy life, but from a conviction that the proposed abolition of the Corn-Laws would be the ruin of all who depended, directly or indirectly, upon land. He became one of the Tory Whips in the House of Lords, and was instrumental in putting forward Lord Stanley as leader of the House of Commons, in opposition to Sir Robert Peel. But when Lord George Bentinck died he saw that no one but Mr. Disraeli could fill his place. He admitted that Lord George's death left Disraeli without a rival, and enabled him "to show the great genius he undoubtedly possessed without any comparisons."

As a statesman, Lord Malmesbury had no great ambition, and he was not distinguished for any conspicuous power or originality. Neither was he very happy in his attempts at Parliamentary oratory, and some of his own political friends could not refrain from little pleasantries at his expense. His grammatical eccentricities and curious infelicities of phraseology were frequently the subject of comment, good-natured or ill-natured. But on more than one occasion the late Lord Derby chivalrously came to the defence of his Foreign Secretary, and paid a high tribute to his industry and the great care with which he transacted the official business that devolved upon him. It must be confessed also that the *Memoirs* reveal a

vivacity and acumen for which their author had never up to the time of publication received due credit.

Although, as we have seen, it was not until the time of the Corn-Law agitation that he took a deep interest in public affairs, he really began his political career in 1841, when, as Lord Fitzharris, he was elected a member in the Conservative interest for the borough of Wilton. This was in June, and the new member's experience of the House of Commons was very brief, for in the following September he succeeded to the peerage on the death of his father. In 1852 the Liberal Government introduced a Reform Bill which greatly astonished and nonplussed the Earl of Derby. Lord Malmesbury was very anxious that he should meet it by a counter Bill or resolution, but the Tory leader would not hear of it, and treated Disraeli coldly when he proposed it, as we read in the *Memoirs*. However, if Lord John Russell was not defeated on the Reform Bill, he was in a minority on the Militia Bill, and the Government resigned. Mr. Disraeli was delighted at the idea of coming into office, and said he "felt just like a young girl going to her first ball." Lord Derby did not view the prospect with the same equanimity, and predicted that "Benjamin's mess would be five times greater than that of his Ministerial brethren." The Conservatives succeeded to office, and Lord Malmesbury was appointed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He writes :

"I had published in 1844 the *Diplomatic Journal and Correspondence* of my grandfather, the first Lord Malmesbury, and the experience I gained by reading and collating, with great trouble, the contents of above two thousand letters and despatches from him and to him by all the important personages of the period from 1768 to 1800 stood me in good stead at this trying time. Without this accidental education I should have been as great a novice in political business as were most of my colleagues."

There are other naive confessions respecting this Conservative Cabinet of 1852. Lord Derby himself said to Lady Malmesbury at Northumberland House, "I have been driving a team of young horses this morning; not one had ever been in harness before. They went beautifully; not one kicked amongst them." Lord Malmesbury was the first to recognise officially the French Empire, and he contributed largely to bring about the good understanding which, with little interruption, subsequently

existed between Napoleon III. and the Court of St. James's. His intimate friendship with the Emperor was of considerable service to him in the conduct of the affairs of the Foreign Office.

Nevertheless, when Lord Malmesbury's announcement of the establishment of the French Empire was made in the House of Lords, his speech was severely criticised. He was charged with exhibiting a more than due deference to power, and an overweening confidence in the assurances of the new Emperor. Before the close of the session, also, his foreign policy generally was subjected to a severe examination. The occasion for this was a debate arising out of an outrage committed upon a British subject named Mather, who was cut down in the streets of Florence by an Austrian officer. Lord John Russell, in condemning the foreign policy of the Government, as expressed through its mouthpiece, Lord Malmesbury, said that Ministers had taken office upon a distinct understanding that they were to declare what their policy was, whereas they seemed to have been studiously concealing it. Mr. Bernal Osborne charged the Foreign Minister with having trifled with the honour of the country and disgraced it in the eyes of the whole continent of Europe. But Lord Stanley and Mr. Disraeli defended Lord Malmesbury, the former with warmth and the latter with efficiency. The Derby Ministry, however, was very short-lived, enjoying only ten months of office. Mr. Disraeli's financial schemes were the prime cause of its collapse.

It is but just here to cite the compliment which Lord Derby paid to his Foreign Secretary on leaving office. "I rejoice to have this opportunity," said the retiring Premier, "of bearing my testimony in reference to one man than whom no person has been more unsparingly and, I will venture to say, more unjustly maligned, and of stating that from the first to the last I have had no cause for anything but self-congratulation in having obtained in the Foreign Department the services of one who, without previous political experience, has brought to bear a diligence, ability, and good judgment on the affairs of that great department which reflect the highest credit on himself, and which, I may venture to say without fear of contradiction, have extorted the applause and admiration of old and experienced diplomatists, whose views on more than one occasion he has combated, and successfully combated."

In the session of 1853 Lord Malmesbury delivered one of the most extraordinary speeches ever heard in the House of Lords. Rising during the discussion on the Succession Duties Bill, he strongly denounced the scheme as cruel in principle. It took, he said, a man at a time and fleeced him; and when he had disappeared, it took another and fleeced him; so that it would be impossible ever to collect a numerically strong expression of opinion respecting it against the Minister of the day. He held that by the Bill Chancellors of the Exchequer would in future be "like vultures soaring over society, and watching for a harvest of dead meat." The speech from which this extract is taken caused mingled astonishment and amusement; and Lord Granville, in a sarcastic reply to it, complimented Lord Malmesbury upon the introduction of a new style in debate. In contrast to this is the calm and statesman-like view Lord Malmesbury took of the conduct of the Prince Consort, when absurd reports were rife concerning His Royal Highness, and it was even said that he would be sent to the Tower for unconstitutional practices. The Prince was accused of writing letters to turn out Lord Hardinge and take his place as Commander-in-Chief, or at least to share his power and patronage; of giving audiences to the Ministers privately, and thus substituting himself for the Queen. "Time will do him justice," said Lord Malmesbury, "and convince the world that no Sovereign could have at his side a better counsellor, removed as he is from all personal disputes of parties."

Early in 1856 Mr. Disraeli thought there was an excellent opportunity for the formation of a Coalition Ministry, but Lord Derby held firmly to the opposite view. Mr. Disraeli was very angry in consequence, and roundly charged Lord Malmesbury with being to blame for the fiasco, by leaving Lord Derby at the critical moment when he required support and encouragement. The charge was almost as absurd as it appears to have been incorrect. At this time there were some Tories who believed that Mr. Disraeli would like to place himself at the head of the Conservative party to the exclusion of Lord Derby. Lord Malmesbury was himself sounded upon the subject, but indignantly repulsed his questioner. In 1857 it was said that Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Sidney Herbert were anxious to join Lord Derby, but while this would have been an accession of talent it would have led to Tory secessions. The Duke of Beaufort told

Lord Malmesbury that if the Tories coalesced with the Peelites he would leave the party ; and in 1855, when Lord Derby attempted to form a Government and offered places to Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Sidney Herbert, no fewer than eighty members of the House of Commons threatened to leave him.

In February 1858 Lord Palmerston was defeated on the Conspiracy to Murder Bill, and the Earl of Derby again came into power. Lord Malmesbury was appointed to his former office of Foreign Secretary, and in this capacity he zealously laboured to avert the war between France and Italy and Austria. On the 4th of May 1859 he issued a circular to Her Majesty's Ministers abroad, instructing them as to our position in the probable conflict between France and Sarlinia on the one side and Austria on the other. It was, he announced, the earnest desire and firm intention of the Government to observe the most scrupulous neutrality between the contending parties ; but they would at the same time be ready to avail themselves of any opportunity that might arise for the exercise of their good offices in the cause of peace.

Defending his policy subsequently in the House of Lords, Lord Malmesbury affirmed that he had done all he could to induce France and Austria to come to an understanding ; and he cited the evidence of the Blue-book in his favour. He denied Lord Palmerston's assertion that he had patronised Austria. He had, in fact, told Austria that nothing should induce the English Government to support her in Lombardy against her own subjects. He had told her that England would stand by her in maintaining her treaty rights, but not in exercising improper administrative and military influence. He had recommended a Congress, but he had never passed the bounds of neutrality. The Foreign Minister, who had already settled the Cagliari affair and extracted compensation from the King of Naples for two English engineers illegally made prisoners by this vessel, was again called upon to defend his conduct in reference to the case of the "Charles et Georges." This was a French ship which the Portuguese seized on the ground that she had been fitted as a slaver. The Portuguese claimed the right of seizure, according to our treaties, and took her into the Tagus. A fierce diplomatic war ensued, and Lord Wodehouse made a vehement speech in the House of Lords, to which Lord Malmesbury replied that he had done all that could be done

without going to war with France. The motion of censure was withdrawn, and eventually, after a great deal of noise on both sides, the dispute was satisfactorily arranged.

Ill and tired, Lord Malmesbury was not sorry to be released from the cares of office when Lord Derby's Government was beaten in June 1859, and consequently resigned office. There was an extraordinary scene in the lobby of the House of Commons when the defeat was made known. Azeglio, the Italian Ambassador, and some other foreigners were waiting in the lobby, and when Lord Palmerston appeared redoubled their vociferations. "Azeglio is said to have thrown his hat into the air and himself into the arms of Jaucourt, the French Attaché, which probably no Ambassador, or even Italian, ever did before in so public a place."

With regard to this second Administration of Lord Derby, though the Opposition in the Commons had a majority, Lord Malmesbury always maintained that the Ministry would not have been beaten on the Address if Mr. Disraeli had previously laid on the table the Blue-book containing the Italian and French correspondence with the Foreign Office. Why this was not done he never knew, but twelve or fourteen members of the House of Commons voluntarily assured his lordship that if they had read the correspondence before the debate they would never have voted against the Government. Mr. Cobden was one of these. Lord Derby himself did not order the Blue-book to be produced, because he was worn down with toil and the gout, and wanted to go out. Men of both parties finally admitted that the Ministry would have secured a majority if the French and Italian correspondence had been laid on the table in time. Repeated entries in Lord Malmesbury's diary at this period show the high regard in which he was personally held by Her Majesty the Queen, and there are numerous interesting anecdotes about distinguished persons, including the Princess Alice, Garibaldi, Mr. Gladstone, and notably the Emperor Napoleon. His lordship seems to have been thrown into contact with the late Emperor at almost all the important crises in his career, down to the dramatic closing episodes of his strange life, when he died in exile.

When the Dano-German question arose in 1864, Lord Malmesbury (in the absence of Lord Derby) brought forward the following vote of censure :

"That this House has heard with deep concern that the sittings of the conference recently held in London have been brought to a close without accomplishing the important purpose for which it was convened. That it is the opinion of this House that, while the course pursued by Her Majesty's Government has failed to maintain their avowed policy of upholding the integrity and independence of Denmark, it has lowered the just influence of this country in the councils of Europe, and thereby diminished the securities for peace."

His lordship said that the violation of the treaty of 1852 had set a bad precedent, which might at any future time be quoted as an excuse for violence and wrong. The German Diet had exceeded its powers in interfering with a European treaty, by asserting the principle of nationality against it. He believed that if the Government had been firm and decided the present conflict might have been prevented. Lord Russell had placed himself both in the position of partisan and judge between Denmark and Germany, and had, therefore, pleased neither party and destroyed his own influence as an English Minister. The vote of censure, which involved the fate of Lord Palmerston's Administration, was carried in the House of Lords by a majority of nine; but in the Commons, where it was moved by Mr. Disraeli, a different result was recorded. Mr. Disraeli's resolution was rejected by a majority of eighteen, and a Ministerial crisis was in consequence averted.

Lord Malmesbury seldom took part in discussions upon domestic affairs, but he felt a considerable interest in the Reform question. In 1866, during the great Reform agitation, he spoke at Christchurch, and denied Mr. Bright's statement that if a Reform Bill were passed by the Commons it would be rejected by the Lords. His lordship held that there was nothing in the past history of the peers to justify such an assertion, and he believed that the members of that assembly would always be ready to accept the clear and deliberate judgment of the country whenever it should be manifested through the votes of the representatives in the other House of Parliament.

When Lord Derby became Prime Minister for the third time, in 1866, he again offered Lord Malmesbury the Foreign Office. In consequence of ill-health, however, his lordship declined this onerous post, and accepted that of Lord Privy

Seal. This office he likewise subsequently held under Mr. Disraeli in 1868 and 1874, until 1876, when he resigned on account of his increasing deafness, which prevented him from being useful either in the Cabinet or in the House of Lords. For some time he acted as leader of the Conservative party in the Upper House, being succeeded by Lord Cairns, Lord Salisbury having at that time declined the honour. In the session of 1869 Lord Malmesbury made a vigorous and successful effort to defeat the Life Peerages Bill. His speeches on this subject were probably the most telling he ever delivered, and brought over to his side both his leaders and many others who had supported the Bill. On the motion for the third reading the Lords threw out the measure by 106 to 77 votes.

Of recent years Lord Malmesbury's appearances in the House of Lords were very infrequent, but when it was proposed in 1881 to commemorate the services of Lord Beaconsfield by the erection of a monument in Westminster Abbey, he attended the House and spoke of the distinguished statesman and his old colleague in the warmest terms. After denying that Lord Beaconsfield was a mere Parliamentary gladiator, without sensibility and feeling, he said, "I know no man who felt disappointment more, or so much enjoyed triumph. It was his indomitable courage which enabled him to master his features, as it supported him through all the difficulties of his career. He had every domestic virtue which I consider a man need have." The speaker then proceeded to pass a glowing eulogium upon Lady Beaconsfield, and he added concerning the late statesman, and speaking from a long personal acquaintance, "I have not known a more complete character, as far as regarded the good nature, amiability, and sincere friendship which he always displayed."

In 1859 Lord Malmesbury was created a G.C.B., and the degree of D.C.L. was conferred upon him by Oxford University. He edited, as we have already had occasion to note, the *Diaries and Correspondence of his Grandfather*, published in 1844, and *The First Lord Malmesbury and his Friends. A Series of Letters from 1745 to 1830*. His lordship was one of the General Commission of Fine Arts in the International Exhibition of 1862. Alike in public life as in his private relations, he was highly esteemed for his urbanity and the unfailing courtesy and amiability of his demeanour.

JEFFERSON DAVIS

OBITUARY NOTICE, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1889

JEFFERSON DAVIS, President, during its brief and stormy existence, of the Confederacy of the Southern States of America, notwithstanding the great part he once played upon the political stage, lived during the last twenty years in retirement and almost in obscurity. In other words, he became an historical personage during his own lifetime. His name can never be forgotten while the American Civil War is remembered, though the judgment of posterity alike upon him and the other chief actors in that great struggle will no doubt be something different from any that is now possible. Jefferson Davis was born in Kentucky on 3rd June 1808, and had consequently completed his eighty-first year. While he was still a child the family removed to the State of Mississippi, with which he was ever afterwards closely connected. His early education was of the ordinary American type, and at the age of sixteen he went to the Military Academy at West Point, obtaining four years later a commission as second lieutenant. For the next seven years he seems to have been occupied with military duties, which consisted chiefly in keeping the Indians in check.

In 1835 he married the daughter of General, afterwards President, Taylor, and settled down in Mississippi as a cotton planter upon the estate left him by his father. He appears to have led an uneventful life, relieved by a certain amount of local political activity, until 1845, when he was returned as one of the members for Mississippi to the house of representatives. There he took part in debates upon the burning questions of the time—the state of the army, the tariff, and the joint

occupation of Oregon. His speeches of that period are somewhat high-flown, and contain much indignant rhetoric concerning the aims of Southern men and the misconstructions placed upon them by those of the North.

Upon the breaking out of the Mexican War he was chosen Colonel of the Mississippi Volunteers, whereupon he resigned his seat and joined the army of his father-in-law on the Rio Grande. He served with distinction at the battle of Buena Vista, assisted at the storming of Monterey, and was one of the commissioners appointed to arrange its capitulation. In recognition of his services, President Polk offered to make him Brigadier-General of Volunteers, but he showed his characteristic political bias by declining the honour on the ground that it was not in the gift of the Federal Government, but of the individual State.

In 1847 Davis was elected Senator for Mississippi, and continued with, if possible, increasing energy his advocacy of State rights against what he conceived to be the unjust and unconstitutional encroachments of the Federal Executive. In 1850 he became Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, and in March 1851, was re-elected Senator for Mississippi, a position thus secured to him for six years. At that time the public mind was greatly agitated by the "compromise measures" of the previous year on the slavery question. The result was a proposition from the people of the different Southern States for a Convention of Delegates to consider what steps should be taken to preserve their constitutional rights and to ensure future peace. There was a good deal of doubt and hesitation as to the means by which these desirable ends were to be secured. Some thought that arrangements might be made which would prevent the interference of the North with the "domestic institution," while others, perhaps more alive to the signs of the times and more impressed by the growing numerical preponderance of the Northern States, had begun to regard secession as the only way of avoiding the pressure of the Federal Government.

Mr. Davis had taken so prominent a part in the Senate in discussing everything connected with the pending controversy that he thought himself bound to meet the people of Mississippi face to face and give an account of his stewardship. He accordingly made a tour through the State, expounding his views and defending his actions, which, however, do not seem to have ever

been seriously challenged by his own constituents. His tour ended just at the time appointed for the meeting of the Democratic Nominating Convention of the State, and while the canvass for the State Legislature was going on simultaneously with that for the State Convention just named. The Convention election came off first, and the Democrats were beaten by more than 7000 votes. Mr. Davis was then urged to become a candidate for the Governorship instead of General Quitman, who retired in view of the demonstrated weakness of the party. In order to do this he had to vacate his seat in the Senate ; and though he failed to secure election, he had the satisfaction of reducing the majority from 7000 to less than 1000.

For some eighteen months Mr. Davis was free from the yoke of public cares and devoted his time and attention to his plantation. In the end of 1852, however, he was asked to join the Cabinet of the President-elect, Mr. Pierce, who would come into office in the following March. Mr. Davis declined, but being again pressed, after the inauguration of the President, he became Secretary for War. Under his administration considerable activity was shown in surveying routes for railway communication between the Mississippi Valley and the Pacific coast, in increasing the efficiency of the army, and in carrying on experiments in gunnery. He seems also to have made some attempt to break through the pernicious system by which every Government post down to the humblest is made part of the plunder of the party attaining to power.

During this Presidency the contention between North and South gained in bitterness, and even in ferocity. The attention of Congress was largely occupied by the affairs of Kansas, in which disorder had attained the proportions of civil war. A committee of the House visited Kansas to verify by personal observation the accounts which reached Washington, and were rewarded with indubitable proof that armed invasions from Missouri were a constant feature of election days. Mr. Charles Sumner denounced in the Senate what he called the "crime against Kansas," and made uncomplimentary allusions to Butler, the Carolina Senator. Two days afterwards he was attacked while sitting at his desk in the Senate-house with so much violence that his life was at first despaired of. Preston Brooks, the representative for South Carolina, was the principal assailant, and was expelled from the House of Representatives in con-

sequence. His constituents immediately returned him, and in two weeks he again took the oaths and his seat. He had the sympathy of the Southern leaders, including Mr. Jefferson Davis, who approved "the feeling which prompts the sons of Carolina to welcome the return of a brother who has been the subject of vilification, misrepresentation, and persecution, because he resented a libellous assault upon the representative of their mother." There is a curious Hibernian flavour alike about the logic and the rhetoric of this passage.

At the close of Mr. Pierce's Presidency, in 1857, Mr. Davis was again chosen Senator for Mississippi, and immediately had ample opportunities for plunging into the great quarrel which had always attracted him. The constitutional battle was then raging around the organisation of Kansas, which was in process of settlement, and, therefore, well fitted to bring the dispute to a point. On one side it was maintained that whatever element of slavery might unhappily have been incorporated in the Union, the American people ought at any rate not to tolerate its extension. On the other side it was held that the migration of slaves into new territory did not constitute an extension of slavery, and also that the Constitution required that the people of every district should be left free to say for themselves whether they would have slaves or not. This theory of popular rights was at last pushed to such an extent under the name of squatter sovereignty, that it actually split the Democratic party itself, the more sensible men being unable to concede that the first few hundred persons who happen to settle upon a new area are entitled to fix the form of government for all time, without any external check or restraint whatever.

The fact was, however, that at this time, under the administration of President Buchanan, America was definitely organising itself into two opposed camps, and it mattered comparatively little what were the particular questions discussed. American parties, after having passed through a period of confusion which makes it difficult for the student to follow their struggles, were settling down into two solid masses inspired by very definite principles and animated by mutual hatred. American politicians have borrowed our political epithets, but have affixed to them meanings entirely different from and sometimes directly opposed to ours. American Institutions seem to us at once so Republican and so Democratic that we vainly seek

in European experience any clue to the nature of the parties calling themselves Democrats and Republicans. These names, however, are hardly older than the period of which we are now speaking, at all events as applied to the parties they now connote. The present Democrats were originally Republicans, or, to speak more accurately, the party which has always insisted more strongly on State than on Federal authority has at different times borne both these names. The old Federal party was succeeded by the Whigs, having nothing in common with our Whigs; they in turn produced the American or Know-nothing party, and that again yielded to the Free-State party, the great anti-Democratic force during Buchanan's Presidency, and the nucleus of the party, partly made and partly consolidated by the war, now calling itself Republican. While the names have changed, and while accidents have changed the superficial appearance of parties themselves, the real dividing line of American politics has never shifted. Two principles are embodied in the American Constitution—that of national unity and that of State independence. Either carried to extremes would produce intolerable results; and the precise compromise to be effected between them is a matter of perpetual struggle between conflicting interests.

Notwithstanding all that has been said about slavery and the righteous passion for its abolition in the North, we venture to think that the dispassionate historian will pronounce the Civil War to have been the result of the rooted antagonism between the theory which derives Federal power from the delegation of the States, and the theory which makes State privileges practically the delegation of the nation. Slavery merely happened to be the practical interest upon which it was convenient to bring the contest to an issue. To the South slaves were of the highest importance, because its most lucrative crops could not be advantageously cultivated by white men, and without the most extensive powers it was held impossible to make black men work. To the North slaves were of no use, because the climate suits white men, whose labour is immensely more valuable and productive than that of negroes. Abolition was as easy and agreeable to the North as Protection, and for very much the same reason—that its inconveniences fell upon others.

Federal rights at the same time were naturally advocated in their most extreme form by those whose numerical preponderance

promised the best results from the manipulation of Federal power, while State rights were no less naturally dear to minorities who saw in them the only means of maintaining their peculiar institutions. Thus, the combination of Abolition with maintenance of national unity, and of slave-holding with insistence upon State sovereignty, was a mere accident. Had the South been the more powerful, slave-holding and Federal authority would have gone together, while the North would have been the great advocate of State independence. The essence of the quarrel lies in the political antagonism latent in the Constitution, and capable of being called into action whenever any serious divergence of interests and aims arises between peoples of different temperament living under different skies and subject to different conditions. It is not unreasonable to anticipate that the doctrine of State sovereignty will some day be revived by the great negro population in whose interest it was denied.

Two incidents occurred during Buchanan's Presidency which added fuel to the flames of party passion. The first was the "Dred Scott" case, in which the Supreme Court held that according to the Constitution the idea could not be entertained that negroes were citizens, as the only two provisions which point to them and include them treat them as property. This decision, presenting slavery in all its naked hideousness, stirred the public sentiment of the North to its depths. The raid of John Brown into Virginia at the head of a force of fourteen white men and five negroes, which ended in a fight with United States troops, in which thirteen were killed or mortally wounded, and in the hanging of the seven who remained, created not less excitement in the South. It added enormously to the strength of the party which held that there could be no real independence for the South except in secession. Mr. Davis always maintained that secession was forced upon him and the greater number of the Southern leaders; but there can be little doubt that an idea which logically grows out of the theory of State sovereignty was sufficiently familiar to their minds long before things came to a crisis. Indeed, Davis always stoutly maintained the right of secession though he long denied its expediency.

It was with minds inflamed by mutual provocations that men approached the Presidential election of 1860. The Democrats were hopelessly divided into the Constitutional union party, the popular sovereignty party, and the State rights party. The

result was the election of Mr. Lincoln by a majority of electoral votes, which, however, represented only between a third and a half of the popular vote. His views and those of Mr. Seward, the most prominent member of his Cabinet, were known to be of an uncompromising kind; and, in addition to this, every effort to find some *modus vivendi* between the opposing sections had failed alike in the Senate and the House of Representatives.

On the 20th of December the Convention of South Carolina unanimously adopted an ordinance revoking her delegated powers, and withdrawing from the Union; and on the following day her representatives retired from their places in Congress. Her example was followed on the 9th of the following month by Mississippi, and before the end of January Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana had seceded from the Union. These States lost no time in organising themselves into a Confederacy, and on the 9th of February 1861 Mr. Jefferson Davis was chosen its President.

So far everything had gone on peacefully, and few people shared Mr. Davis's opinion that the North would not permit secession without war. The leading organs of the victorious party admitted the right of secession, and even taunted the seceding States with not being worth the trouble of retaining in the Union a day longer than they wished to stay. President Lincoln himself, in his inaugural address, distinctly deprecated anything in the nature of armed invasion of the seceding States. He announced, indeed, his intention to see that all the ordinary functions of the Federal Government were carried on as usual, but said that "beyond the force that might be necessary for that purpose, there would be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere." He even went so far as to add that where hostility to the Central Government might be so strong as to prevent resident citizens from holding Federal offices, the strict legal right of the Government to fill these offices would not be insisted on. Thus the majority of the Southern people clung to the belief that their secession would be regarded as a voluntary withdrawal from a partnership terminable by any of the parties to it. It is to the credit of Mr. Jefferson Davis's political sagacity that he more accurately gauged the temper of his countrymen, and was not deceived by the calm which preceded a tremendous outburst of popular excitement.

The first overt act of war was committed by the Confederates

in reducing Fort Sumter; yet it is difficult to see, as was admitted at the time by some of their severest critics, how, in the circumstances, they could have acted otherwise. The Federal Government twice showed bad faith in dealing with that question. It assured the Confederate representatives at Washington that the fort would be evacuated forthwith, although it was then equipping an expedition to reinforce its garrison. Again, it endeavoured to smuggle soldiers into Fort Sumter from the hold of a small and innocent-looking vessel. It was not wonderful if after these breaches of faith the Confederates thought they had no alternative but to blow up the fort or endure serious disadvantages in an inevitable struggle. They were, however, saddled with the technical responsibility of striking the first blow, and the response of the Washington Cabinet was a proclamation calling out 75,000 men. On its appearance the States of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas seceded from the Union, and joined the new Confederacy.

From this point the biography of Jefferson Davis is the history of the Civil War. In organising his administration he had the advantage of considerable experience in one of the highest posts in the United States Cabinet, and his special military knowledge doubtless proved exceedingly useful. But the task before him was Herculean. The Confederacy had everything to construct from the beginning. The army, the navy, the arsenals, the munitions of war, the manufacturing centres, and in many cases even the raw material for necessary manufacture were with the North. The rivers could not be defended for want of iron to protect the gunboats: even iron rails were scarce, and the factories for producing powder, percussion caps, and other indispensable articles had to be created. Circulating medium was scarce, and communication with the outside world was difficult and precarious. In short, the business in hand was not merely the organisation of a government, but the creation of everything by which governments assert their authority.

No matter how ably seconded he may have been—and Davis had abundance of able and enthusiastic helpers—the mass of business to be attended to by the head of so complex an undertaking must have been enormous. Mistakes, of course, were made in plenty, and not on the Confederate side alone, but they

were never suffered to damp the spirits or extinguish the zeal of the Confederate leader. As he was the first to perceive the true nature of the struggle, so was he the last to admit that the battle was lost. To his indomitable energy and courage the seceding States undoubtedly owed in no small degree the respect which they extorted from all who witnessed their desperate fight against overwhelming odds. Americans have hardly yet learnt to take a dispassionate view of the war or to appreciate the display of qualities identical with those which finally secured victory for the North. Popular histories of the war still paint the two parties as models of all that humanity venerates, and as wretches without a single virtue to redeem them from universal execration. That simple method of meting out praise and blame has never permanently held its ground in respect of any human transaction, and it will not be accepted as appropriate to a war between men of the same race, the same language, and the same traditions.

At the outset of the struggle, and, indeed, until near its close, the Confederates fought with so much bravery and success that the general opinion of Europe more than once inclined to believe that they would achieve independence of the North. Looking at the great disparity in men and material resources between the two combatants, it was not, indeed, easy to question the ultimate success of the North. But, on the other hand, history shows us many cases of successful opposition to apparently overwhelming forces, and it appeared to not a few that the Confederate defence might be reckoned among that class. Uncertainty as to the issue and the anomalous character of the relations between the belligerents produced a most trying situation for neutral Powers. Perhaps the best testimony to the general correctness of the policy of this country is found in the fact that each party hotly accused us of favouring the other. It might have been deemed some expiation for unavoidable faults that next to the belligerents themselves England suffered most acutely from the effects of the war, owing to the total stoppage of her cotton supplies.

After four years of the most desperate efforts to shake off the Northern invaders the Confederate defence was at last broken down, and the fall of Richmond on 5th April 1865 put an end to the Government of Jefferson Davis. Accused by angry partisans of complicity in the plot to assassinate President

Lincoln, a reward of \$100,000 was offered for his capture. This was effected about six weeks after his flight from Richmond, and he was carried to Fort Monroe, where he was jealously guarded pending a trial which never took place. The delay caused by the difficulty of deciding in what manner he should be tried probably saved his life by giving time for the dissipation of the absurd suspicion that he had stooped to plan a treacherous murder. In June of the following year an effort was made to procure his release, but, although no resolution had been come to concerning his trial, Congress decided by a large majority that he should remain in prison. At length, after two years' confinement, he was set at liberty, but it was not until another two years had passed that all proceedings against him were formally abandoned.

After the failure of his great enterprise he took no part in public life, and, indeed, it may be doubted whether any considerable rôle was open to him. The reconstruction of the Union was badly begun under President Johnson. The Secession States were given over to military law and to the machinations of carpet-baggers; while in the Northern States the Ex-President of the Confederacy could have had no chance of political success. Jefferson Davis was, besides, probably wise enough to know how great a mistake is an anti-climax. He could not have hoped by any chance to occupy a position comparable to the one he had lost, and his wisest course was the one he took, to retire altogether into private life. He engineered a Texan Railway to the Pacific, wrote a voluminous account of the rise and fall of the Confederate Government, and finally undertook the management of a life assurance company.

Three years ago, when the Democrats were in power, he emerged from his retirement in spite of feeble health and for no reason apparent to the world. He made a sort of political progress through Alabama and Georgia, delivering historical speeches which the Northern Press not inaptly described as the funeral orations of the Confederacy, and calling forth a considerable amount of popular enthusiasm. But the crowds and the shouting had no real significance, and his tour was brought to an abrupt termination by the apprehension of his political friends that it might provoke an injurious reaction of public sentiment. The leader of the greatest Home Rule movement of modern times was possibly roused to temporary

activity by the spectacle of another attempt to disrupt a great Empire made by the man who prematurely committed himself to the opinion that Jefferson Davis had created a nation. The Southern leader at all events had material to deal with out of which a nation could be constructed, while his English imitator has attempted the impossible task of making a nation which, even if the British Empire were annihilated, could not maintain its independence for a single year. Though identified with a gigantic public blunder, Jefferson Davis has never been convicted of the tergiversation and self-seeking which are the besetting sins of politicians in troublous times. To have occupied with credit a difficult position, to have fought a losing battle with unquestionable ability and unflinching courage, to have shown magnanimity under a tremendous reverse, and to have borne through all vicissitudes an unstained character, are achievements which will secure to him an honourable place in his country's history.

LEADING ARTICLE, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1889

The death of Mr. Jefferson Davis, at the age of eighty-one, awakens memories which, though they go back in reality only a quarter of a century, seem to be related to a far distant chapter of history. The War of the Secession in America had, like the great French Revolution, been long anticipated by keen observers, but predictions of disruption and conflict were so often apparently confuted by events that men had come to look upon them as having no practical bearing upon politics. Those who were themselves deeply interested in the game for the most part knew better, but upon the mass of Americans, both in the Northern and in the Southern States, the attempt to break up the Union fell with a startling shock. Names which previously had at the most a local celebrity quickly rose to world-wide fame, and among these none was more conspicuous during four eventful years than that of Mr. Jefferson Davis. His character was deeply impressed upon the public declarations and the diplomatic intercourse of the Confederacy. His policy, or that which was believed to be his, was identified in the eyes of all the world with the Confederate cause. When that cause was overwhelmed in utter ruin, Mr. Jefferson Davis sank with it, to rise no more as a public man. Others as devoted as he was

to the independence of the South—Mr. Alexander Stephens, Senator Lamar, Senator Gordon, and others—re-entered the political arena as soon as the military yoke was lifted from the necks of the Southerners, but to the ex-President of the Confederacy all the gates of public life were inexorably closed. He was ostracised, not by the malignity and rancour of his enemies, but by the distrust and aversion of those who had formerly believed in him, had followed him into a hopeless and disastrous enterprise, and persisted in defying at his bidding forces as sternly irresistible as those of the great movements of nature.

The vanquished Southerners were not wanting either in sagacity or in generosity, but they had enough of human nature in their composition to seek a scapegoat when their ambitious and adventurous schemes were turned into crushing defeat. It is probable that President Davis was much to blame in secondary matters for the collapse of the Confederate resistance, but, after all, the rarest and highest qualities of statesmanship and of strategy could not have averted the issue if the problem were left to be determined, as in fact it was, by measuring the forces of the South directly and simply against those of the North. If the Chief of the Confederacy had combined the lofty spirit of Chatham with the indomitable resolution of Frederick, the single-minded purpose of Washington with the eagle eye of Napoleon, he would still have been unequal to the struggle upon which he rashly launched his country. Being as he was of far inferior quality, it was easy when the end came to discern the causes of disaster in his errors. The closing campaign of the Confederacy left behind it among the Southerners feelings as bitter as, and perhaps not less unfair than, those which, in the minds of the majority of Frenchmen, have established an inseparable connection between the fallen dynasty of the Bonapartes and the humiliation of Sedan.

In truth, the policy of Mr. Jefferson Davis, stripped of its rhetorical trappings and calmly viewed nearly thirty years after its initiation, was nothing more than a superb game of brag. When he and his friends representing the Gulf States drove the South into secession against the better judgment of the older Slave States, they were not the dupes of the high-flown language in which they defied the North and expressed their resolution to "maintain, if necessary, by the final arbitrament of the

sword, the position which we have assumed among the nations of the earth." They were well aware that the resources of the North, in men, in money, in capacity for bearing taxation and providing food and munitions for vast armies, exceeded enormously those of the South. But they believed that the North, if fully persuaded of the determination of the South to break away from the Union, would not attempt to use its power for coercion, or that if such an attempt were made it would be neutralised by the internal divisions of Northern politics and by the lack of any steady conviction or predominant sentiment to touch with fire the crude masses of a half-organised democracy.

Nor were the promoters of the secession far wrong in their premisses, though they went widely astray in the conclusions they drew from them. The only section of Northern society which had shown the true fighting spirit were the Abolitionists, who were altogether without weight in politics, and whose doctrines seemed to their neighbours to be impracticable and fanatical. The people of the North were generally most unwilling to enter upon a crusade for the abolition or even the restriction of slavery, as a succession of abortive "compromise policies" had testified; they disliked and had little knowledge of war; the great majority of the trained military and naval officers in the Federal service when the war broke out were Southerners. These facts encouraged President Davis and his colleagues to confront the North not only boldly, but menacingly. With extraordinary energy and perseverance the Confederate Government proceeded to create, not only the material of war, but the machinery of civil and military administration. If many mistakes were made, and many hardships inflicted, it must be borne in mind that the conditions under which the work was done were without precedent.

The policy of Davis, however, met with a fatal check when it was shown that the maintenance of the Union was a rallying-cry potent enough to efface divisions of opinion throughout the North, to turn a pacific community into one panting for war, to make a nation of traders and farmers willing to submit to the levying of immense armies by conscription, the suspension of popular liberties, the imposition of extraordinary taxation, the raising of enormous loans, and the issue of a forced paper currency. The South were prepared to do all these things on their own account, but they were not prepared to be met in

the same spirit by the North. Still Davis and his associates did not despair. If they were unable to drive the North to acquiesce in the disruption of the Union by a show of force, the game of brag might be played, with scarcely less prospect of success, in another quarter. The European Powers might be induced to intervene, in the interests of humanity, to put an end to the strife. To this object all the efforts of the Confederate statesmen were exclusively directed, though with ever declining hopes from the moment when it became plain that the North would not be overawed into submission, but would fight to the last for the Union. The incapacity of the Federal War Department and of some of the Northern generals gave President Davis the material for vehement and highly-coloured appeals to the public opinion of Europe. On the other hand, the Confederates displayed military genius in some of its highest forms, and in almost all ranks maintained a high level of soldierly qualities. But as the months and years glided by, and no help came, as the Confederacy was worn out while the North showed no sign of weariness, President Davis must have felt the situation to be a hopeless one long before Lee's surrender to Grant at Appomattox Court-house.

To the charge of President Davis have been laid many of the faults which vitiated and perverted the Confederate Administration. It is alleged that he thwarted and crippled the ablest of his Generals, and that he sacrificed the common interest to personal prepossessions or sectional demands. Virginia and the Border States complained that he thought less of them than of his beloved Mississippi and the neighbouring communities. But, in truth, the cardinal vice of his policy was that it failed. If it had succeeded its critics would have been silent, if not effusive in their praise.

Measuring, as we can now measure, the conditions of the problem with which Jefferson Davis had to deal, we are unable to see how he could have hoped even against hope to secure the independence of the South, except by an audaciously assertive and domineering attitude. The stake for which he was playing was a high one; it was nothing less than the future of the Slave Power, no longer fettered by alliance with the Northern States, but permitted to extend its territory to the farthest limits of Texas, and at no distant time to absorb the dominions of the enfeebled Mexican Republic. Slavery in the Southern

States was doomed to perish, and to bring to ruin the class of whom Jefferson Davis was an able and bitter champion, unless it could obtain opportunities of expansion. This was the inducement which led the South to accentuate the doctrine of State rights, and to imperil nominally on that issue the large share of political influence and administrative authority monopolised by Southerners under the Union. For yielding to the temptation the South was promptly and sharply punished ; long before the close of the war it was manifest that, whatever the result, the property of the slave-owners was destroyed.

Jefferson Davis himself had nothing to expect but ruin. His career after the fall of the Confederacy was not in all respects worthy of his high place. He was the most conspicuous example of the clemency of the Government of the Republic, yet he rarely spoke a good word for the institutions and the politicians of the North. With all his activity and audacity, all his firmness and force of character, there was in him more than one mark of a narrow mind-- an unforgiving moroseness, a determination to make himself out in the right on all occasions, and an inability to estimate truly the relative value of men and things. These defects, as well as others of a literary sort, unfitted him for the task, which he undertook in his declining years, of writing the history he had so large a share in making.

ROBERT BROWNING

OBITUARY NOTICE, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1889

It is with deep regret that we announce the death of Robert Browning, the illustrious poet. Up to quite recently he was singularly well and vigorous; indeed, few men of his age—seventy-seven—were so strong and capable of such multifarious exertions as he. He could not only work for hours together, producing such work as that which was only yesterday reviewed in these columns, but he could walk and talk with the energy of youth or middle age. Few men of letters were so sociable, and hardly any was such a favourite in so varied a world. Unlike almost every other poet, Mr. Browning knew everybody and went everywhere. Society never seemed to fatigue him, or to dull the edge of his creative talent. He talked well on many topics, and if his conversation of late rather took the form of reminiscences, that was the natural privilege which people were always very ready to grant to his age. He was young in mind and manner; and to hear him at the dinner-table it was difficult indeed to believe that this was the man who, in the year of the Queen's accession, had written *Strafford* for Macready, and who had flung *Sordello* into a world that still read the poetry of Mr. Robert Montgomery.

Robert Browning was born in 1812, at Camberwell. His father was a clerk highly placed in the house of Rothschild, and there are still living those who remember the excitement of the elder man and of his friends in New Court when the time came for the son's play to be produced at Covent Garden. He was a Dissenter, and for this reason his son's education did not proceed on the ordinary English lines. The training which Robert

Browning received was more individual, and his reading was wider and less accurate, than would have been the case had he gone to Eton or Winchester. Thus, though to the end he read Greek with the deepest interest, he never could be called a Greek scholar. His poetic turn declared itself rather early, and in 1835 he had a poem, *Pauline*, ready for the press. But publication costs money, and his business-like father did not see any chance of returns from poetry. A kind aunt, however, came to the rescue, and presented the young poet with the cost of printing the little book, £30. It was published at the price of a few shillings, and of course did not sell; but the author had the curious satisfaction of seeing a copy of this original edition bring twenty-five guineas under the hammer a year or two ago. *Pauline* was not reprinted till the issue of the six-volume edition of Mr. Browning's works in 1869. It was followed by the more ambitious *Paracelsus*, a striking attempt to fill a mediæval outline with a compact body of modern thought; but in spite of the lovely lyric "Over the sea our galleys went," and in spite of other beauties, the public did not heed the book, and it had no success except with a very small circle. It must be remembered that those days were days of poetic exhaustion. Shelley, Byron, and Scott were dead; the year before, Coleridge had followed them to the grave; Wordsworth was old, and his muse no longer spoke with her accents of an earlier day. Amid a mass of "keepsake" literature, affectations, and mediocrity, the still, small voice of the *Poems by Two Brothers* was heard by few, and that of *Paracelsus* was heard by fewer still.

Two years later the young poet came forward with the historical play of *Strafford*, which, as we have said, was produced at Covent Garden with Macready in the title-part. It was not exactly a failure, but though the play itself and Macready's acting attracted the admiration of the critics, it was at once seen that the drama contained too much psychology and too little movement for a popular success. Mr. Browning, however, did not for a long time come cease to be a "writer of plays," though it was not till eleven years after that another drama of his, *A Blot on the Scutcheon*, was performed on the stage. The interval, however, was full of poetic activity. The energetic search of the members of the Browning Society, and especially of its founder, Mr. Furnivall, has succeeded in putting on record

the place of first publication of several scattered poems of about this date. Four of them, including *Porphyria* and *Johannes Agricola*, appeared in the *Monthly Repository*, edited by W. J. Fox, the Unitarian minister who was afterwards so well known for his eloquent speeches against the Corn Laws. In 1840 came a small volume, bound, after the fashion of the time, in gray paper boards, and called *Sordello*, after the Provençal poet mentioned in the *Purgatory* of Dante. The book appeared without preface or dedication, but in the collected edition of 1863 it bears a note addressed by Mr. Browning to his friend Monsieur Milsand, of Dijon, which contains the characteristic expressions, "I wrote it twenty-five years ago, for only a few. . . . My stress lay on the incidents in the development of a soul ; little else is worth study. I, at least, always thought so." *Sordello* in its original form is very rare and valuable now, as all the early editions of Mr. Browning's poetry have become ; but on its first appearance nobody cared for it—it was regarded as nothing but a hopeless puzzle by a bewildered and defeated public. Even now, when Mr. Browning has long since formed his own public, *Sordello* is probably less read than any other work of his ; it is too obscure and confused both in plot and in thought. Irreverent people, indeed, have been found to say that the only two intelligible lines in it were the first—

Who will, may hear Sordello's story told—

and the last —

Who would, has heard Sordello's story told.

But all the same, there are many interesting things in *Sordello*, and among them, especially at this moment, are the references to the place which, for fifty years, has fascinated the poet. Only the other day he wrote *Asolando*, and forty-nine years ago we find him writing :

Lo, on a heathy brown and nameless hill
By sparkling Asolo, in mist and chill,
Morning just up, higher and higher runs
A child, bare-foot and rosy.

Asolo appears again very soon afterwards in the lovely opening of the play *Pippa Passes*. This came first in the series which appeared in the years 1841-46 under the odd title

of *Bells and Pomegranates*. There were eight numbers of this publication—thin yellow-covered pamphlets, printed in double columns of small type by Mr. Moxon; surely as unattractive a way as a poet ever attempted of bringing his wares before the world. Doubtless it was done in order that the low price might appeal to a large audience, but we doubt whether the sale of *Bells and Pomegranates* was ever large. The series is exceedingly rare now, and the curious who prefer to read these noble poems in this unsightly form have to pay £10 or £12 for the privilege of possessing them. In this series first appeared all the author's plays except *Strafford*—namely, *Pippa Passes*, *King Victor and King Charles*, *The Return of the Druses*, *A Blot on the Scutcheon*, *Colombe's Birthday*, *Luria*, and *A Soul's Tragedy*. But alternating with these appeared many of the shorter poems which have long since passed into the common treasure-house of all who care for poetry throughout the English-speaking world. One of the numbers contains the set called "Dramatic Lyrics," including *In a Gondola*, *Waring*, and *The Pied Piper of Hamelin*. Another number contained "Dramatic Romances and Lyrics," among which are to be found such favourite poems as *How they brought the Good News from Ghent to Aix*, and *Saul*. In this group of poems were also to be found the celebrated lines called *The Lost Leader*. People at the time supposed that these indignant verses were aimed at the Tory backsliding of Wordsworth; and, indeed, though Mr. Browning in after years denied their special applicability to the old Laureate, there can be no doubt that when he wrote them he had Wordsworth more or less in his mind.

In 1846 there happened to Mr. Browning something much more important than the publication of this or that poem; for it was then, on 12th September, in Marylebone parish church, that he was married to the poetess, Elizabeth Barrett. Their union was the direct result, in the first instance, of poetic and intellectual sympathy, and it was to the admiration which Miss Barrett, then an invalid, felt for the author of *Bells and Pomegranates* that they owed their first introduction. For the greater part of their married life Mr. and Mrs. Browning lived almost entirely in Italy, and especially at that house in Florence, close by the Porta Romana, which now bears a tablet with her name, and which gave its title to one of her best-known volumes of poetry. They had one child, born in 1849, Robert Barrett

Browning, favourably known as a painter and sculptor. After just fifteen years' marriage, Mrs. Browning died in 1861; the frail body almost literally burnt up by the fiery soul within. Of the closeness of their union Mr. Browning, of course, never spoke, except to his intimate friends, but that it was of a degree of happiness to which it is seldom given to poor humanity to attain was made evident to the world when he wrote the splendid invocation to his *Lyric Love* at the opening of *The Ring and the Book*.

During the first years of married life Mr. Browning wrote little, but he read widely and deeply, and in 1849 he republished, in two reasonable-sized volumes, *Paracelsus* and *Bells and Pomegranates*, under the title of "Poems, by Robert Browning." Next year followed his most definitely Christian poem, *Christmas Eve and Easter Day*—a small volume in which the mysteries of the Christian religion were handled in their relations with the modern world. Then, in 1852, followed a prose publication, which was, unfortunately, founded upon a mistake and which was at once suppressed and not brought to light until the Browning Society reprinted it years afterwards. This was the celebrated introductory essay to a volume purporting to consist of letters from Shelley. The letters were soon discovered to be fabrications, but Mr. Browning's essay was quite independent of their genuineness, being really a very interesting discussion on subjective and objective poetry, and of Shelley's writings as a type of the former. In 1855 came the two volumes called *Men and Women*, and in their pages were to be found many of the poems best worth reading of all Mr. Browning's productions, and many of those that are best remembered at the present day.

It is only somewhat exasperating to the student to find that in subsequent collected editions of his works Mr. Browning has allowed his fondness for renaming and rearrangement to break up these volumes and to distribute the greater part of their contents under other titles. In *Men and Women* the intensely dramatic quality of his genius found its best scope, for here are to be found such masterpieces as *Karshish*, *the Arab Physician*, *Fra Lippo Lippi*, *Bishop Blougram*, and *Cleon*. It is amusing to note, if the authority of the bibliographers is to be trusted, that these volumes were reviewed in the Roman Catholic paper called the *Rambler* by no less a person than Cardinal

Wiseman, who was extremely complimentary to Bishop Blougram, and did not by any means despair of the writer's conversion. After *Men and Women* the poet was silent for a long time. His wife's health was failing, though at the time of the war in Lombardy her burning energy burst out in the "Poems before Congress," and though she watched the course of the struggle with never-ceasing excitement.

In 1861 the great grief of his life fell upon Mr. Browning, and he published nothing new till 1864, when there appeared the volume called *Dramatis Personæ*. It is pretty safe, however, to declare that in this volume, with *The Ring and the Book*, which was published in 1868, he reached his greatest height of performance. It is enough to recall the memory of readers that *Dramatis Personæ* contains *James Lee's Wife*, *Rabbi Ben Ezra*, and *Prospice*. Then, four years later, as we have said, appeared four volumes of that marvellous performance, *The Ring and the Book*, a poetic and psychological grappling with the question suggested to the poet by the account of a Roman trial that took place a couple of centuries ago. Whether any one else in any country has ever before ventured to publish a poem in four simultaneous volumes we cannot say; but, in spite of its length and difficulty, *The Ring and the Book* was and is one of the most successful of the author's works. It has every right to be so, for nowhere does he exhibit in a manner so sustained and yet so varied his own extraordinary insight into characters and motives entirely dissimilar.

Since that remarkable work was given to the world Mr. Browning has attempted nothing approaching it in magnitude or in the demand it made upon the sustained exertion of high intellectual powers. But he left his admirers no room to complain of diminished fecundity or of decaying vigour. *Balaustrion's Adventure*, including a transcript from Euripides, appeared in 1871 to prove his undiminished insight and inexhaustible interest in spiritual analysis. It was followed by *Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau*, *Saviour of Society*, a book suggested by the collapse of the French Empire, and recalling the scathing satire with which he lashed the impostures of spiritualism in *Study the Medium*. In 1872 he published *Flight at the Fair*, to the delight of those who loved him, and, as usual, to the irritation of those who did not. *Red Cotton Nightcap Country* appeared in the following year; and, after

an interval of two years, was followed by *Aristophanes' Apology*. Again, after a similar interval, he gave us *The Agamemnon of Æschylus Transcribed*. In 1879 came *Dramatic Idylls*, with the stirring ballad of *Hervé Riel*, which, as some think, roused the Laureate to emulative effort. *Jocoseria*, published in 1883, reclaimed many of his earlier admirers who had been estranged by what they regarded as the extravagance and whimsicality, not to speak of the obscurity and ruggedness, of so many of his later works. *Jocoseria*, in fact, recalls *Men and Women* rather than the *Pifines*, the *Hohenstiel-Schwangaus*, and the *Red Cotton Nightcap Countries* of a later and less happily-inspired period. *Perishtali's Fancies and Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in their Day* was the rather cumbrous title of a still later volume; and but yesterday appeared *Asolanlo*, a work which displays all the old qualities, the old fire, and the old audacity, apparently untouched by advancing years or even by imminent death.

It has been Mr. Browning's fate to divide the reading world into two hostile camps. There are no lukewarm friends on his side; and from those who have never acquired a taste for the strong wine of his muse it is sometimes difficult to extort recognition of the vigour, the insight, the tenderness, and the variety of intellectual sympathy which characterise the man even if we make abstraction of the poet. An industrious and enthusiastic society has devoted itself during his lifetime to the promotion of a taste for his writings, but even that singular tribute to the strength of his personality does not shut the mouth of the sceptic. Those who love the poets of prettinesses, of artificial measures, and dainty trifles have at the present day an almost embarrassing wealth of choice. But Mr. Browning in his own sphere had no rival and no imitator. No other so boldly faces the problems of life and death, no other like him braces the reader as with the breath of a breeze from the hills, and no other gives like him the assurance that we have to do with a man. His last public words are the fit description of his strenuous attitude through all his literary work:

"Strive and thrive" cry "Speed—flight on, fare ever
There as here!"

THE BISHOP OF DURHAM

OBITUARY NOTICE, MONDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1889

By the death of the Bishop of Durham last Saturday afternoon, the Church of England has been too soon deprived of one of the greatest minds by whom it has been served and adorned, not only in the present generation, but in its whole history. He has left behind him contributions to theological literature and ecclesiastical history which will be permanent treasures, not only to the Church of England, but to the Church at large ; while at the same time in his administration of his diocese he has left the impress and the impulse of the most earnest devotion and practical energy. He was at once one of the greatest of theological scholars and an eminent Bishop, and the loss of a man with these achievements and capacities at such a time as the present is most deeply to be deplored. The rapid termination of his life was, we believe, quite unexpected. He had been dangerously ill last year ; but long change and rest had, it was hoped, restored him to his diocese. He was, however, seeking necessary change this winter at Bournemouth, and was working hopefully at one of his great theological works, when a chill, taken on Tuesday last, brought on an acute relapse, and he succumbed almost suddenly to an attack of acute congestion of the lungs.

It is scarcely possible to estimate adequately as yet the influence of his work and his life ; but a brief review of his career will suffice to indicate the characteristic services which he rendered. Joseph Barber Lightfoot was born in 1828 at Liverpool ; and, if we are not mistaken, he was one of several eminent men who owe their first impulse in learning to the

late Dr. Prince Lee, headmaster of King Edward's School, Birmingham, and afterwards Bishop of Manchester. From his hands he passed to Trinity College, Cambridge, and obtained the highest honours in his degree. He was Senior Classic and Senior Chancellor's medallist in 1851, and was also a Wrangler, or a First Classman in mathematics. His subsequent life was for many years mainly devoted to the University, to which he was intensely attached. He became Fellow of Trinity in 1852, and subsequently Tutor. In 1861 he became Hulsean Professor of Divinity, and in 1875 Margaret Professor. He combined with these University offices, indeed, various other important duties. He became chaplain to the late Prince Consort in 1861, chaplain to the Queen in 1862, and Deputy Clerk of the Closet in 1875, and examining chaplain to Dr. Tait, both as Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury, from 1862-79. In 1871, moreover, he was appointed Canon Residentiary at St. Paul's Cathedral. His name will always be cherished in that Cathedral as one of its great ornaments, and we observe that Dr. Liddon, in his sermon yesterday afternoon, paid a grateful tribute of honour and regret to his former colleague in the Chapter. His influence there was of the utmost value, as he brought the gifts of his unsurpassed learning to the work of the practical instruction of a great London audience.

But during this period of his life the centre of his energies was at Cambridge, and it was there that the foundations were laid and the main structure framed of the noble edifice of Christian learning which he erected. His influence at the University as a great Christian teacher was, we believe, of incalculable importance. His personal character carried immense weight; but his great position depended still more on the universally-recognised fact that his belief of Christian truth, and his defence of it, were supported by learning as solid and comprehensive as could be found anywhere in Europe, and by a temper not only of the utmost candour but of the highest scientific capacity. The days in which his University influence was asserted were a time of much shaking of old beliefs. The disintegrating speculations of an influential school of criticism in Germany were making their way among English men of culture, just about the time, as is usually the case, when the tide was turning against them in their own country.

It was quite impossible, however, to assume that the verdict of real learning was on the side of the Tübingen School when such a scholar as Dr. Lightfoot, supported, as he would have wished it to be remembered, by the friend to whom he has offered so many tributes of honour and affection—Dr. Westcott—was convinced that it was on the side of the old beliefs. The peculiar service which was rendered at this juncture by him and the “Cambridge School,” to whom Dr. Liddon referred yesterday at St. Paul’s, was that, instead of opposing a mere dogmatic opposition to the Tübingen critics, they met them frankly at once on their own ground; and instead of arguing that their conclusions ought not to be and could not be true, they simply proved that their facts and their premisses were wrong. But it was a characteristic of equal importance that Dr. Lightfoot, like his brother divine, Dr. Westcott, never discussed these subjects in the mere spirit of controversy. It was always patent that what he was chiefly concerned with was the substance and the life of Christian truth, and that his whole energies were employed in this inquiry, because his whole heart was engaged in the truths and facts which were at stake. He was not, therefore, diverted by controversy to side issues; and his main labour was devoted to the positive elucidation of the sacred documents in which the Christian truth and life is enshrined.

He has himself described, in the preface to his greatest work, published four years ago, the nature and course of his theological studies. We refer to his great edition of *St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp, with Introductions, Notes, Dissertations, and Translations*—a monument of learning which can be paralleled only by the works of the very greatest scholars of the past, and which, as Dr. Liddon yesterday said, has probably set at rest one of the most thorny and vehement controversies of modern times, or rather, of two centuries. He says:

“The present work arose out of a keen interest in the Ignatian question which I conceived long ago. The subject has been before me for nearly thirty years, and during this period it has engaged my attention off and on in the intervals of other literary pursuits and official duties. Meanwhile my plan enlarged itself so as to comprehend an edition of all the Apostolic Fathers; and the portion comprising St. Clement (1869), followed, after the discovery [of a complete MS.] of Bryennios, by an Appendix

(1877), was the immediate result. But the work which I now offer to the public was the motive, and is the core, of the whole."

A further passage from the same preface indicates the point of view from which he approached this study, and at the same time affords a brief summary of his mature conclusions respecting the controversy in which he has played so great a part. He says :

"The Ignatian Epistles are an exceptionally good training ground for the student of early Christian literature and history. They present in typical and instructive forms the most varied problems—textual, exegetical, doctrinal, and historical. One who has thoroughly grasped these problems will be placed in possession of a master key which will open to him vast storehouses of knowledge. But I need not say that their educational value was not the motive which led me to spend so much time over them. The destructive criticism of the last half-century is, I think, fast spending its force. In its excessive ambition it has 'o'erleapt itself.' It has not indeed been without its use. It has led to a thorough examination and sifting of ancient documents. It has exploded not a few errors, and discovered or established not a few truths. For the rest, it has by its directness and persistency stimulated investigation and thought on these subjects to an extent which a less aggressive criticism would have failed to secure. But the immediate effect of the attack has been to strew the vicinity of the fortress with heaps of ruins. Some of these were best cleared away without hesitation or regret. They are a rallying point for the assailant, so long as they remain. But in other cases the rebuilding is a measure demanded by truth and prudence alike. I have been reproached by my friends for allowing myself to be diverted from the more congenial task of commenting on St. Paul's Epistles ; but the importance of the position seemed to me to justify the expenditure of much time and labour in 'repairing a breach,' not indeed in 'the House of the Lord' itself, but in the immediately outlying buildings."

This extract appears to possess a varied interest ; and it indicates to some extent the manner in which Dr. Lightfoot, when once engaged in an inquiry such as that respecting the Epistles of St. Ignatius, pushed his researches into every field and corner of learning connected with the subject, and would

not rest till every circumstance had been investigated which could throw light upon it. This characteristic of his work led to some disappointments to the learned world and to the public, since it led him to keep his books back for so long, rather than publish them while there was anything left unfinished which might be made perfect. This unwearying and fastidious conscientiousness has no doubt been rewarded by the permanence of his work ; but it has had one consequence which must for ever be regretted. It is one of the causes—for his public labours at Durham must be reckoned another—which prevented the completion of that Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles which is also referred to in the above extract. The earliest of this great series of commentaries—that on the Epistle to the Galatians—was published in 1865, and the preface states that “the present work is intended to form part of a complete edition of St. Paul's Epistles, which, if my plan is ever carried out, will be prefaced by a general introduction and arranged in chronological order.” This was followed in 1868 by a Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians, and in 1875 by a Commentary on the Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon ; and there, alas ! this invaluable series came to a close.

We can only hope that among Dr. Lightfoot's papers may be found commentaries on others of St. Paul's Epistles sufficiently far advanced for publication ; but it will for ever be a matter for the deepest regret that, from whatever cause, the most thorough and satisfactory commentary ever published on this momentous portion of the New Testament cannot be completed by the author's own hand. It supplies at once the most complete elucidation ever afforded of the Apostle's text and of the circumstances with which he was dealing, and at the same time the most solid and earnest practical exposition. Each commentary is accompanied by excursions, which of themselves throw invaluable light on important but obscure problems of early Church history. One, for instance, on the Christian ministry has a permanent value as one of the chief contributions to the much-vexed question whether Apostolic succession through bishops is essential to a valid ministry. By the High Church school Dr. Lightfoot is deemed to have made some undue surrender on this point, and accordingly his essay has been much criticised by the latest representative of the extreme High Church view on this subject—the Principal of the Pusey House.

- For the rest our readers may be referred to the appreciative observations in the passage we print from Dr. Liddon's sermon on the value of these commentaries.

During this period Dr. Lightfoot exerted a very important influence in the movement which led to the preparation of the Revised Version; and a volume which he published in 1871 *On a Fresh Revision of the English New Testament*, though published after the Company of Revisers had met, exerted an important influence in encouraging that enterprise. Perhaps it was the only scholarly undertaking in which he engaged of which the results have not, in all points of view, been successful; and it is the only one, so far as we know, in which he was encountered by another scholar in a debate of which the issue was at least doubtful. But the change introduced by the revisers into the Lord's Prayer of "Deliver us from the evil one," instead of "Deliver us from evil," was challenged at once by the late Canon Cook, of Exeter, with a learning which proved a match even for that of Dr. Lightfoot; and Canon Cook's final paper, though the then Bishop of Durham intimated an intention of replying to it, was never answered.

Another important service which, during the University period of his life, he rendered to the English Church was his masterly series of papers in the *Contemporary Review* of 1874-77 in reply to a pretentious, but essentially unscientific and uncautious book entitled *Supernatural Religion*. These essays were republished only this year, with a preface dated from Bournemouth, in which the first motive of the series is explained. He says that when he first took up this book he felt that "its criticisms were too loose and pretentious, and too full of errors, to produce any permanent effect; and for the most part attacks of this kind on the records of the Divine life are best left alone. But I found that a cruel and unjustifiable assault was made on a very dear friend, to whom I was attached by the most sacred personal and theological ties; and that the book which contained this attack was, from causes which need not be specified, obtaining a notoriety unforeseen by me. Thus I was forced to break silence; and, as I advanced with my work, I seemed to see that, though undertaken to redress a personal injustice, it might be made subservient to the wider interests of the truth."

It was characteristic of Dr. Lightfoot that he should thus enter on an unwelcome controversy out of regard to his friend

Dr. Westcott; but his series of essays, as its republication indicates, possesses, as all he published, a permanent value of very high kind. With the exception of Dr. Salmon's Introduction to the New Testament, which is by its nature more complete, the volume of republished essays is perhaps the most effective explanation of the real results of modern criticism on the most important questions respecting the authenticity of the books of the New Testament. On the whole, as Dr. Liddon said, he and his school "rolled back the most formidable assault which had been made since the early days of Christianity on the documents which are the title-deeds of the Church."

But in 1879 he accepted, though not, we believe, without the utmost reluctance, the bishopric of Durham, in succession to Dr. Baring. It was a bold step to appoint the most learned scholar of the Church to a post which made the most arduous call on practical ability and energy. But it was felt that the presence of a scholar on the Bench would vastly strengthen its authority, both within and without; and the appointment has been eminently justified by the result so far as the diocese of Durham is concerned, and through that diocese the whole Church. The Bishop never ceased his learned labours, and his grand work on the Ignatian Epistles was completed amidst the discharge of his diocesan duties. We believe he regularly reserved time for prosecuting his studies; and he made Bishop Auckland a centre of learning and teaching for his clergy.

But he devoted himself with unstinted energy to the practical work of his see, and soon became beloved and trusted throughout his diocese for the impulse and support which he gave to every good work. He threw himself, indeed, into some movements, such as the work of the Church Temperance Society and the White Cross Army, with an enthusiasm rarely combined with so much knowledge and solidity of judgment; but these were illustrations of that simple Christian devotedness of character of which Canon Liddon yesterday spoke with such feeling. His munificence was understood to be unbounded, and one of his last acts was to build a church at Sunderland as a thank-offering for what every one hoped was his recovery from illness last year. More and more will be heard of his labours as a Bishop, and to-day we can only refer to their general character. Such masterly learning and wisdom, combined with such earnest and simple-minded devotion, has been

rarely seen. He was a worthy successor, in his services to Christian truth, of his great predecessor, Bishop Butler, and he surpassed him, partly no doubt under the stimulus of different circumstances, in his practical labours. Some, perhaps, will always doubt whether any services which he rendered, or could render, as a Bishop could compensate for the partial sacrifice of his services to theological learning. But that, we believe, will not be a doubt entertained in his own diocese, as the mourning now felt for him abundantly shows. His name will be held in the highest honour as long as the English Church lasts—or rather as long as any Church lasts in which English or European theology is known. Dr. Lightfoot was never married.

DR. DÖLLINGER

OBITUARY NOTICE, MONDAY, JANUARY 13, 1890

JOHN JOSEPH IGNATIUS DÖLLINGER, the distinguished theologian, historian, and controversialist, was born at Bamberg, in Bavaria, on the 28th of February 1799. He was the son of Ignaz Dollinger, a famous physiologist. He became chaplain to the diocese of Bamberg in 1822, almost immediately after receiving priest's orders in the Roman Catholic Church. Subsequently he was a Catholic curate in Franconia, and this charge he resigned to become Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Church Training School at Aschaffenberg. After holding this appointment for a short time he was nominated Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Munich, a chair which he afterwards resigned to Mohler, taking himself that of dogmatic theology. His lectures on the history of the Church, delivered before the University, were distinguished for their erudition and their breadth of thought.

In 1826 Dr. Dollinger made an important mark by his first published work, entitled *The Doctrine of the Eucharist during the First Three Centuries*. This was followed in 1828 by his *Manual of the History of the Church*, which embodied the substance of his lectures delivered at the University of Munich. In 1838 appeared his *Treatise on the History of the Church*. It was practically an expansion of the preceding work, and it not only superseded a standard work by Hortig on the same subject, but foreshadowed the independent position taken up later by the writer. At this time, as editor of the *Historisch-politische Blätter*, Dr. Dollinger discussed many subjects of a semi-political character, as, for example, the mixed marriage question, then

warmly debated between the Archbishop of Cologne and the Prussian Government. Tractarianism and other questions of the day were also handled from time to time with much dialectical skill. Between 1833 and 1835 he wrote his *Origins of Christianity*, and *The Religion of Mahomet* appeared in 1838.

Turning his attention to politics in 1845, he entered the Bavarian Parliament as representative of the University of Munich ; but he lost his seat in Parliament, as well as his chair in the University, through the influence of the notorious Lola Montes. He was a delegate to the National Parliament of Frankfort, however, in 1851, and in this capacity he elaborated a definition of the relations of Church and State which amounted almost to complete separation. Following his views to their logical issue, he voted for the absolute severance of the Church from the State. The Reformation was at this period in his career a subject of special study with Dr. Dollinger, the result being that he produced two works upon this great religious movement, one being *A Sketch of Luther*, and the other a historical dissertation entitled *The Reformation, its Interior Development and its Effects*. In 1853 he protested against the proposed coronation of Napoleon III. by Pope Pius IX., and also produced his well-known *Hippolytus and Kallistus*, a work on the Church in the third century, written against the views of Baur, Bunsen, Lenormant, etc. By a further work, published in 1857, Dr. Dollinger made an attempt to appreciate the social forces which favoured or retarded the spread of Christianity. In 1861 he delivered a series of lectures in which he advocated the abandonment of the temporal power by the Holy See. His work on *The Church and the Churches ; or, the Papacy and the Temporal Power*, was (like many other of his treatises) translated into English. He here formulated at greater length his reasons and arguments for the surrender of the temporal sovereignty of the Pope. In 1864 he incurred considerable odium amongst his more orthodox Catholic brethren by strongly resisting the doctrines of the Papal Encyclical of that year.

Although he had long been known throughout Germany and other European States, it was not until the year 1870 that the name of Dr. Dollinger acquired a world-wide fame. He was one of the most strenuous opponents of the decrees of the Vatican Council, and he especially rejected that one which

declares the Pope to be infallible when addressing the Church *ex cathedra* on questions of faith and morals. In some observations which he drew up on the petition for infallibility he directed his attack not merely against the inopportuneness of the decree, but undisguisedly against the doctrine itself. His letters caused considerable excitement, and when he further stated in his manifesto that what he had maintained was nothing more than what the majority of the episcopate in Germany substantially held, the excitement by no means diminished. Indeed his declaration alarmed not a little that large proportion of the German Bishops who were anxious at all costs to escape a point-blank contest with the Pope, and who had taken care so to word their counter-petition as to leave the actual doctrine of infallibility an open question. They by no means desired the reputation of complicity with so very prominent and uncompromising an opponent as Dr. Dollinger; and when some of them, the Bishop of Mayence at their head, proceeded distinctly to repudiate the allegation that they were opposed to the dogma of infallibility, it was manifest that the German opposition camp was disorganised; and that, while some of its leaders were doubtful or dissentient on the point, there were others who really accepted the dogma of infallibility in its entirety. The German Bishops in general subsequently made a formal submission, but Dr. Dollinger stood to his guns. Bavaria supported the learned doctor. Though conservative of the past, she was opposed to the new Ultramontane influences, and heartily acquiesced in the stand made against the infallibility doctrine. The Municipality of Munich presented Dr. Dollinger with the freedom of the city for his courageous attitude on this all-absorbing question. He had now become the acknowledged leader of all those who, within the pale of the Romish Church, were disaffected towards the Holy See; but he was to pay for this position of eminence.

The Old Catholic movement soon drew upon itself the hostility of the ecclesiastical authorities. On the 19th of April 1871 Dr. Dollinger was formally excommunicated by the Archbishop of Munich, on account of his refusal to retract his opposition to the dogma of infallibility. The Archbishop of the day, a dull, illiterate, and weak man, was completely under the influence of Melia, the Papal Nuncio at Munich, the same individual who had been Papal Nuncio in Mexico in the

Emperor Maximilian's time, and was not altogether without responsibility for the tragedy at Queretaro. This Melia was distinguished as a fanatic among fanatics. Instead of proceeding in a conciliatory manner towards Dr. Dollinger, he and the Archbishop endeavoured to force on him the acceptance of the new dogma in its crudest, most offensive, and most absurd form. When Dr. Dollinger declined, as was to have been expected, to deny his most solemn convictions, the excommunication followed. The Archbishop himself was too undiscerning a man to understand what he was doing ; but others saw the folly of the step, and lamented to see turned out of the Papal Church its most learned priest and one of the greatest ecclesiastical historians that had ever adorned it. Fessler, Bishop of St. Polten, who had been secretary to the Vatican Council, when he heard of the intended action of the Archbishop, came post haste to Munich to try to arrange matters ; but he arrived too late, and indeed any attempt to influence either the narrow-minded prelate or the fanatical Papal Nuncio who urged him on was hopeless. Pope Leo XIII. has repeatedly expressed his own great regret for what took place, and has, it is said, taken more than one opportunity of having his views on the matter conveyed to Dr. Dollinger.

A paper war of great magnitude followed the excommunication. Most of the doctor's colleagues in his own divinity school, together with not a few canons of his cathedral, a vast number of the Bavarian lower clergy, and nearly all the laity, testified their agreement with him. The young King of Bavaria, moreover, lent the support of his personal sympathies to Dr. Dollinger's movement. Herr von Lutz, the Bavarian Minister of Worship, addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Munich which was nothing less than a declaration of war against the politics of the high clerical party. He challenged the proceedings against Dr. Dollinger ; he declared the infallibility dogma to be an innovation pernicious to the interests of the State ; he asserted the right of the *Placitum Regium*, by acting without which the Bishops who published the decrees of the Vatican Council had been guilty of a breach of the Constitution.

A Congress of Old Catholics was held at Munich in September, when an Anti-Infallibility League was formed ; and the cause soon afterwards experienced a triumph in the election of Dr. Dollinger to the Rectorship of the University of Munich by

a majority of fifty-four votes against six. At Cologne in the following year an Old Catholic Congress assembled, and delegates attended from various foreign States. There were present from England the Bishops of Lincoln and Ely and the Dean of Westminster. Amongst others were to be seen Reinkens, Michelis, Huber, Père Hyacinthe, Bluntschli, and the Jansenist Bishop of Utrecht. The president's chair was occupied by Professor von Schulte, while the prime leader of the movement, Dollinger himself, the foremost object of attraction and sympathy to the foreign guests, sat in a corner of the hall of assembly almost out of sight, and took little part in the proceedings. Dr. Dollinger, indeed, was always glad to give the Old Catholic body the benefit of his advice, and he presided over the Congress, mainly of Old Catholics, which was held at Bonn in 1874 to promote the reunion of Christendom ; but we believe he never formally joined their Communion, and, at the outset, at any rate, he strongly opposed its constitution as a distinct Church. From the day of his excommunication by the Archbishop of Munich he abstained from performing any ecclesiastical function. He always continued a strict observer of the disciplinary rules and commandments of the Roman Catholic Church.

In January 1871 the University of Oxford conferred the honorary degree of D.C.L. upon Dr. Dollinger ; and in the following year the King of Bavaria decorated him with the Order of Merit, while he received from the University of Edinburgh the diploma of LL.D. He was appointed President of the Royal Academy of Science at Munich, on the death of Baron Liebig, in May 1873 ; and early in the succeeding year the German Emperor rewarded him for his opposition to the Catholic party by conferring upon him the Order of the Red Eagle, Second Class. He was, however, much opposed to the Prussian *Culturkampf*, and used all his influence, with considerable success, to prevent its spreading to Bavaria. He was particularly opposed to the expulsion of religious orders of women from Prussia. In the autumn of 1873 Dr. Dollinger received a visit from Mr. Gladstone, with whom he has, for a period approaching to half a century, been on terms of friendship, and whose pamphlet on *The Vatican Decrees* created much excitement in Catholic circles.

It was in September 1874 that Dr. Dollinger presided over the Congress at Bonn. It was manifest during this conference

that his views on ecclesiastical questions had advanced greatly since his rupture with the Church, and he frankly declared that he and his colleagues did not consider themselves bound by the Council of Trent. He further introduced a declaration, which was unanimously adopted, that the Eucharistic celebration in the Church was not a continuous repetition or renewal of the great propitiatory sacrifice. But the Old Catholic movement did not generally make that headway upon the Continent which its sanguine promoters had hoped speedily to witness, though it was helped in Germany by the passing of a Bill for transferring ecclesiastical property to a committee of the ratepayers and communicants in each parish of the empire. When the third synod of the Old Catholics was held at Bonn in June 1876 it was stated by Dr. von Schulte that there were then thirty-five communities in Prussia, forty-four in Baden, five in Hesse, two in Birkenfeld, thirty-one in Bavaria, and one in Wurtemberg. The whole number of persons belonging to the body of Old Catholics was—in Prussia, 17,203 ; Bavaria, 10,110 ; Hesse, 1042 ; Oldenburg, 249 ; and Wurtemberg, 223. The number of Old Catholic priests in Germany was sixty. Subsequently some advance was recorded over these numbers.

Dr. Dollinger had a wide acquaintance among the leading statesmen of various countries, and with many of them he was on terms of close and lifelong friendship. At the age of ten he was presented to Napoleon, a few weeks before the battle of Wagram, and he always preserved a lively recollection of the scene. The personality of the great Emperor made an enduring impression on his mind. He was on intimate terms with Sella and Minghetti among the Italians, and with General Radowitz, a distinguished Roman Catholic Prime Minister of Prussia, in the days of Frederick William IV., and father of the present German Ambassador at Constantinople. His most intimate French friend was Count Montalembert ; he had a warm admirer in M. Guizot, and was much looked up to by many other distinguished Frenchmen, such as Lacordaire, Gratry, Dupanloup, and Falloux. His correspondence was most varied, not only with scientific theologians, historians, men of letters, and statesmen, but with ecclesiastics, particularly Roman Catholic ecclesiastics of all grades, from cardinals to curates. Could it be published, it would afford most valuable material for the intellectual and political history of our times. Up to this last

fatal attack of illness he remained perfectly clear and vigorous in mind.

Dr. Dollinger's friendship with Mr. Gladstone, as already observed, is of very old standing. When Mr. Gladstone declared in favour of a separate Parliament and Executive for Ireland, Dr. Dollinger was much distressed. The subject was painful to him and he avoided talking about it; but when he did speak of it, it was always to express his astonishment. Writing to an English friend in July 1888, the venerable doctor said: "Gladstone is to me a riddle, which I can solve only on the supposition that he knows little of Irish history, and still less of the character of the Irish people and of the spirit of the Irish priesthood. If he succeeds, what a frightful legacy will he leave to the generations which come after him! It is, in truth, the most threatening crisis which has occurred in England during the present century. God grant that she may surmount it happily."

No foreigner of our time has understood England so well. His knowledge of English literature and of the writings that have helped to form the English mind was extensive and profound. He had the greatest respect for the character and genius of Cardinal Newman, and always expressed regret that the latter had not found time to give more attention to the history of the Middle Ages. His learning was immense. It may probably be said without exaggeration that he had as minute a knowledge of the history of the Christian Church in every age as Ranke had of the political and diplomatic history of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In addition to the works referred to above, Dr. Dollinger was the author of, among other compositions, *Prophecies and the Prophetic Spirit in the Christian Era: an Historical Essay*, translated into English by Mr. A. Plummer, 1873, and of a *History of the Council of Trent*, published in 1876. In quite recent years he republished the autobiography of Cardinal Bellarmine, with a critical introduction; and also, with the assistance of Professor Reusch, of Bonn, two volumes on the moral teaching of the Jesuits. Only the other day these were followed by a work on the sects of the Middle Ages, and by two volumes of collected speeches or lectures. As a writer Dr. Dollinger was distinguished by the vigour and perspicacity of his style. Though an eager and combative controversialist, he

was personally one of the most modest and retiring of men. He was an exceedingly abstemious man; he never drank the beer of his country, and wine only rarely and in the smallest quantity. He was, however, no friend of fanatical teetotallers. He was exceedingly charitable and eminently hospitable, and delighted in having people to dine with him, as is well known to many Englishmen who have been fortunate enough to make his acquaintance in Munich.

LEADING ARTICLE, MONDAY, JANUARY 13, 1890

One of the two most commanding personalities among theologians of the nineteenth century is no longer to be numbered in the list of living celebrities. Dr. Dollinger has finished his course. After more than sixty years of incessant activity, such was still the vigour of the man and of his labours that his name, when he was silent no less than when he was most eloquent, has continued to be the support of a great cause. At ninety he was not suffered to resign the leadership he had won before he was thirty. To the hour of his death he remained a force in European thought. Seldom as his voice has recently been heard, there was always a sense in the ranks of ecclesiastical controversialists that it might be uplifted. They debated with eyes turned to the master's modest abode in Bavaria, as if some final word were about to issue thence, and decide the direction of the onset or the defence.

Though the real vitality of his career will not be checked by the consignment of his body to the grave, no fresh achievements can now be added. The sum of his literary and educational enterprises can be reckoned up, and it is enormous. When he was scarcely more than a boy he entered the field of theology armed with a store of learning which an ordinary life might have been supposed to be too short to collect. For the next half-century he went on constantly increasing the mass. The quantity was prodigious, the area covered was immense, and the whole was as accurate as it was vast. Antagonists could contend in favour of contrary inferences from the propositions he enunciated. They could not dispute his facts, or convict him of dishonesty in the manner of their compilation. Almost more surprising than the extent and

quality of his industry was the unity of its aims and character. It has been penetrated throughout with the same idea, though naturally that was developed with greater clearness and fulness as his researches in church antiquities advanced.

Theology is a study which is apt to lead its scholars by circuitous roads. They are wont to find themselves in strange quarters. In ancient opponents they recognise guides, and they have to discard many former allies. Before their journey is terminated they frequently have to face the necessity of shutting their eyes and precipitating themselves down a descent they would originally have condemned as fatal. Dr. Dollinger was made of different stuff. He was never exposed to the painful necessity of abdicating his freedom of will. His investigations never chilled his faith or dulled his enthusiasm. They compelled him to set up no new idols nor to dethrone the old. He started with a devotion to the Church which the most minutely microscopic scrutiny of the blunders and crimes of its successive rulers never inclined him to forswear. His views on specific dogmas were modified by reflection and experience. The opinions, for instance, expressed by him in 1826 on the doctrine of the Eucharist during the first three centuries do not accord with the resolution he introduced at the Old Catholic Congress of 1874 on the same subject. When he wrote in 1828 his manual of Church history, he had not, as at Bonn, emancipated himself from the trammels of the Council of Trent. He may not have been as conscious in his earlier stages of the numberless evils inherent in an Ultramontane dictatorship. But to the Church, the Mother Church, as he understood it, of Christendom, he maintained his allegiance unabated.

In spirit, and in the principles of the construction of Church evidences, the distance between the young Professor of the first quarter of the century and the nonagenarian Rector of Munich University of the last quarter is imperceptible. At all times, and undaunted by any hindrances and hostilities, he sought for means by which his Church should be best equipped for performing its task successfully and conciliating the sincerest obedience. His resistance to Papal absolutism and infallibility was justified by his knowledge of the entire want of a historical basis for the tenets. The indignation they awakened in him arose chiefly from his conviction that they were a sword for

parting Christians, and could not be a bond for reuniting them. His uninterrupted aspiration as a scholar and a teacher was after the pacification of Christian dissensions. That burning desire can be traced in his writings long before, as chief of the Old Catholic movement, he drew near to Protestantism. In Old Catholicism he saw, not a sect, but a leaven which was gradually to fuse struggling Christians into one happy society.

Leaders of an appeal against torpor or tyranny in the hierarchy of a Church usually end by flying before the ban pronounced by the dominant coterie upon their rising. They leave the enemy in possession, and withdraw to a camp of their own. Such probably may be, if it has not already become, the position of Old Catholicism. It has proceeded from no choice on the part of the founder; and the propensity never governed him personally. All the artillery of ecclesiastical thunder was levelled at his head. He was upbraided and taunted. He was warned and threatened. He was solemnly excommunicated as an impenitent heretic and infidel. Nothing was of avail to affect his attitude. He bore himself always as if it depended on himself, and not on Popes and Archbishops, whether he should or should not be within the Communion of his Church. As he was not disqualified by rebellion against any of the canons his historical learning showed him that the Catholic Church had promulgated, there he stayed; and as a Catholic he died.

Of the grandeur of the man and the dignity of his demeanour there can be no doubt. Foes as well as friends admired him. The open war declared against him by Ultramontane authorities was felt far and wide within the Church of Rome itself to be a grievous error. Had Pope Leo been in power instead of Pio Nono, it would hardly have been permitted. By the Bavarian people, with all its inveterate Catholicism, the violence attempted against its most illustrious citizen was resented as a national insult. Dr. Dollinger's own serenity was but little ruffled by the tempest. He pursued his habitual course, reading, writing, thinking, and believing, as if every Catholic church were ready to welcome him at its altar.

The condition, present and future, of the particular community which owes to him its existence is a different question. The Old Catholic body is composed of excellent Christians, sincere and amiable. They are served by ministers who are

devout and exemplary in conduct. The few Bishops who rule them are diligent and discreet in the discharge of their functions. Yet the movement does not move. Possibly some advance may statistically be noted. It is not of a kind to amount to an element in European life. Against the wishes of its eminent leader, and by no active fault in its members, it seems fated to become simply one more in the crowd of fighting Christian denominations. Political combinations have helped to impede its progress. Since the reconciliation of Prince Bismarck and the Vatican, it has been an embarrassment rather than a support to German policy. It could no longer hope for especial countenance from the mighty Chancellor. In itself, however, there has ever been a deficiency of proselytising energy. Its virtues have retarded it as much as its mistakes. The assault it conducted on the strongholds of Rome was intentionally too gentle and deprecatory to carry them by storm. If, in order to keep itself breathing, it agree upon further doctrinal amendments of importance, they, while they may enable it to subsist, must sway it so far from the Communion it was created to reform that its lines will have to be formally relaid.

As with many agitations within religious societies which have sprung from the wrath of faithful sons at the ravages of intestine corruption, the true benefit of the South German revolt from Ultramontane usurpations will doubtless be found to have been not so much the rise of another independent association as the resulting compulsion upon the authorities of the established Church to mend their ways. Dr. Dollinger's weight of learning and argument has taught the Vatican the danger of straining the yoke too hard. He has given his Catholic brethren, though they may not acknowledge him as of their fold, the most cogent reasons for imitating, so far as they can, his exalted standard of public duty. Whatever the fortunes hereafter of Old Catholicism, Dr. Dollinger has earned the right to be numbered high among the teachers and doctors of the Church of Rome. He shares the honour with other divines for whom Rome feels even less charity—with Wycliffe, Luther, Melancthon, and Calvin.

LORD NAPIER OF MAGDALA

OBITUARY NOTICE, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 15, 1890

WE announce with much regret the death of Field-Marshal Lord Napier of Magdala. The whole country has reason to deplore the loss of one who was so admirable an example of what may be accomplished by untiring energy, devotion to duty, and an indomitable spirit of enterprise.

The Right Hon. Sir Robert Cornelis Napier, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Lord Napier of Magdala, was the son of Major C. F. Napier, of the Royal Artillery, and Catherine, daughter of Mr. Codrington Carrington, of Barbados. Lord Napier was born in Ceylon, in the year 1810. He was brought over to England and educated at the Military College, Addiscombe. In December 1826 he received his commission as a second lieutenant in the Bengal Engineers. Proceeding to India, he found himself at Calcutta, to use his own language, "without friends or connections, and with nothing but his own stout heart, and his commission in his pocket." For many years his brilliant talents did not find full opportunity for their exercise. For almost a generation he was engaged in building up, bit by bit, his great reputation as a military engineer. He rendered important service in the construction of the magnificent barracks at Umballa, and in 1845 he assisted Sir Henry Lawrence in the foundation of the Lawrence Asylums, "in which hundreds of orphan children of the British soldiers in the three Presidencies are trained to habits of industry and morality."

In January 1841 Napier received his commission as captain, and, having afterwards served with distinction in the Sutlej campaign, he was advanced to the rank of major. Chosen by

Lawrence for the responsible post of engineer to the Durbar of Lahore, he had now an opportunity of acquiring special knowledge of the Punjab, an opportunity which he fully embraced. At the two sieges of Mooltan he acted as chief engineer, and was severely wounded. On the fall of that place Napier accompanied General Whish, in his expedition to join Lord Gough. He was present at the victory of Goojerat, being commanding engineer of the right wing of our army. He was also with General Gilbert at the surrender of the Sikh army. Napier's services having been frequently mentioned in the official military despatches, he received the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel, and the war medal with two clasps for Mooltan and Goojerat.

When Colonel Napier returned to his duties as chief engineer under the Punjab Administration, he executed his long-projected plans of intersecting the country with military and commercial highways. Having provided for the efficient administration of a great province, he was summoned to Calcutta to assume the post of chief engineer of Bengal. When the Mutiny broke out, Napier acted as chief of the staff to Sir James Outram throughout the operations conducted by Havelock for the relief of Lucknow. He planned the bridging of the Goomtee River, which exercised an important influence on the operations for the overthrow of the enemy, and he was subsequently appointed to the command of the force employed to destroy the rebels reunited under Tantia Topee. The conduct of the latter undertaking, however, having been claimed by Sir Hugh Rose, Colonel Napier acted as his second in command. With regard to the operations at Lucknow, Outram wrote: "Skilful and courageous as have been the engineering operations, and glorious the behaviour of the troops, their success has been in no small degree promoted by the incessant and self-denying devotion of Colonel Napier---who has never been many hours absent by day or night from any one of the points of operations---whose valuable advice has ever been readily tendered and gratefully accepted by the executive officers, and whose earnestness and kindly cordiality have stimulated and encouraged all ranks and grades amidst their harassing difficulties and dangerous labours." Napier, now Brigadier-General, gained a brilliant victory at Joura Alipore, which he followed up by the reduction of the large and strong fort of Powree.

After the capture of Gwalior he engaged in the pursuit of Tantia Topee, who was eventually taken and executed. The riband of the Bath was conferred upon Napier for his services during the Indian Mutiny, and he also received the thanks of Parliament.

The surrender of Peking and the burning of the Summer Palace are events intimately associated with the names of Sir Hope Grant and Lord Napier of Magdala. In the Chinese War of 1860 he was second in command under Sir Hope Grant. In the middle of August the allied army of French and English began its march on Peking. At the assault on the Taku Forts Napier's force was chiefly engaged. Sir Hope Grant relied upon the experience of Sir Robert Napier in his measures for the capture of these formidable works. On the 20th of August an attack was made on the Great North Fort by the British regiments of the second division, commanded in person by Napier. The day following the fight waxed fierce, and at seven o'clock the grand magazine of the fort exploded. The defence, however, was stubbornly carried on until eight o'clock on the following morning. At this hour the storming parties, consisting of the 44th and 67th Regiments, followed by the Marines, with the pontoons, gradually closed round the rear, opened a very heavy fire on the parapet and embrasures, and, in conjunction with the French, effected a footing on the walls and ultimately killed or drove the gallant defenders out of the fort at the point of the bayonet. Napier was in the thickest of the fight, and narrowly escaped death. One bullet knocked his binocular out of his hand, and another ripped open his boot; he was struck five times altogether during the assault. Sir Robert Napier followed Sir John Michel's division in the advance upon Tientsin. They remained in reserve upon the right bank of the Peiho, while Sir Hope Grant pressed forward to Peking with the first division. Consequently, Napier was not in the action of the 28th of September at Chang-Ria-Wan, nor in the fight some days later, which placed the allied army in position before Peking. He was, however, sent for by Sir Hope Grant, and on his arrival with the second division the army moved forward on Peking. The duplicity of the Chinese in the antecedent negotiations had left the allies no option but to advance to the attack. On the 6th of October the Emperor's Summer Palace was taken, the French being the first to enter. As a measure of retribution

for the sufferings of the European prisoners, it was set on fire by a detachment of British troops and totally destroyed. By the 12th of October every preparation had been made for bombarding Peking. Sir Robert Napier had brought his siege guns into position, and the Chinese Government were informed that the cannonade would be opened on the following day at noon unless the city previously surrendered. The demands of the allies were at length unconditionally acceded to, and the gate was thrown open to the troops.

On the 14th of February 1861 the thanks of Parliament were voted to Sir Hope Grant, Sir Robert Napier, Admiral Hope, and others for their services during the brief but brilliant Chinese War. Sir Robert Napier was rewarded for his services by being made Major-General and a K.C.B. He was also appointed successor to the late Sir James Outram as a military member of the Council of India. This post he resigned in January 1865, when he was nominated to succeed Sir W. Mansfield as Commander-in-Chief at Bombay, with the local rank of Lieutenant-General. When the Order of the Star of India was instituted he was made a Knight Commander, and afterwards advanced to the dignity of a Grand Cross of that Order.

But the most remarkable military undertaking in the career of Lord Napier of Magdala was the war in Abyssinia. His successful conduct of that brief but dramatic campaign has rendered his name memorable in history. A few words will suffice to explain the origin of the war. In October 1862 Consul Cameron, who had been appointed to succeed Mr. Ploymden as our representative in Abyssinia, was received by King Theodore. He was sent away with a letter for the Queen, desiring alliance against the Turks. This letter reached England in February 1863, but the Government decided not to answer it. Captain Cameron was ordered by Earl Russell to remain at Massowah, but he returned to Abyssinia in June. The following October the Rev. H. Stern, an English missionary, was beaten and imprisoned for an alleged intrusion upon Theodore. Shortly afterwards Mr. Cameron and all British subjects and missionaries in Abyssinia were seized and imprisoned for pretended insults. The prisoners were sent to Magdala, and chained like criminals. In July 1864 Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, a Chaldee Christian and first assistant

British political resident at Aden, was sent on a peaceful mission to Abyssinia, Lieutenant Prideaux and Dr. Blanc being appointed to accompany him. Mr. Rassam having carried on fruitless negotiations for a year, Earl Russell appointed Mr. Gifford Palgrave on a special mission to King Theodore. Mr. Palgrave was proceeding on his mission when he was stopped and informed that Theodore had sent for Mr. Rassam. In January 1866 Rassam, Prideaux, and Blanc were well received by the King, and on the 12th of March the prisoners were released. Scarcely a month had elapsed, however, before they were again seized and imprisoned. In December 1866 Theodore received an autograph letter from the Queen, but he still did not release the prisoners. On the 16th of April 1867 Lord Stanley sent an ultimatum to the King, demanding the release of the captives within three months. A second formal letter from the British Government was despatched to King Theodore, but neither of these documents arrived at its destination.

Meantime, the English Government determined to send a military expedition to Abyssinia, with the object of releasing the prisoners by force. Sir R. Napier was appointed to the command of the expedition, which was fitted out in India. The first detachment of troops arrived in Annesley Bay, on the coast of Abyssinia, in October 1867. The advanced guard, under Brigadier-General Merewether, pushed on to Senafe, on the highland of Abyssinia, and on the 3rd of January 1868 General Napier arrived in Annesley Bay. Issuing an address to the troops, he expressed his confidence that every soldier in the force would appreciate the honour of having been selected to carry out the commands of Her Majesty the Queen, and that neither hardships nor dangers would be suffered to arrest the army in achieving its objects, and releasing English prisoners from a painful captivity. When Theodore was told that the English would be compelled to fight him he replied, "Let them come, and call me a woman if I do not beat them."

The march of the army over the rocky highlands of Abyssinia was successfully and rapidly accomplished, and the troops were soon beneath the stronghold of Theodore. So little did the King relish his first engagement with the enemy that he sent Mr. Flad and Lieutenant Prideaux to the British camp with a flag of truce in order to make terms. General Napier, however,

insisted that the prisoners should be unconditionally surrendered, and the result was that they were all sent into the camp. Hostilities, however, continued, King Theodore refusing to make his own submission.

Few episodes in the history of the British army can compare, for rapid and startling effects, with the storming of Magdala. On the 13th of April two brigades, consisting of 5000 men, under Sir Charles Staveley, moved forward to attack the King's stronghold. They marched along the road which led up to Fahla and through what had been Theodore's camp at Islamgee to Selassee and Magdala. The three hills all flank and protect each other, and are connected by a mountain, isolated, and rising many hundred feet above the plain, and with its sides broken up into scarps and terraces, most of them perfectly precipitous, thus forming together a natural stronghold which has not its fellow perhaps in the known world. It was by the northern gateway, as being on the side commanded by Selassee, that the British and native Indian troops had to effect an entrance. As they approached the stronghold the troops opened a hot fire of shot, shell, and rockets, but this made no impression upon the gateway, which was protected by a strong stockade. The King had stationed himself here with a small band of his faithful followers, but the rest of his army had abandoned the place. The attacking troops resolutely forced their way over the stockade, and rushing into the fortress cut down the few Abyssinians, who died fighting bravely to the last. The King nevertheless retreated to a spot higher up, and there shot himself with a pistol before the troops could reach him. His body was found dead on the ground. There were three wounds upon him, one of which had been inflicted by his own hand. The slaughter of the enemy was great, but our entire loss was only that of ten men wounded. Thus ended one of the most brilliant and surprising of military campaigns.

In an address to the army, the victorious General congratulated them on the way in which they had fulfilled the commands of their Sovereign. "You have traversed, often under a tropical sun, or amidst storms of rain and sleet, 400 miles of mountainous and difficult country. You have crossed many steep and precipitous ranges of mountains, more than 10,000 feet in altitude, where your supplies could not keep pace with you. When you arrived within reach of your enemy,

though with scanty food, and some of you for many hours without either food or water, in four days you passed the formidable chasm of the Bashilo, and defeated the army of Theodore, which poured down upon you from their lofty fortress in the full confidence of victory. . . . You have released not only the British captives, but those of other friendly nations. You have unloosed the chains of more than ninety of the principal chiefs of Abyssinia. . . . Indian soldiers have forgotten the prejudices of race and creed to keep pace with their European comrades. The remembrance of your privations will pass away quickly, but your gallant exploit will live in history."

The Queen despatched a congratulatory telegram to Sir Robert Napier and the army, and the news of the successful result of the Abyssinian expedition was received with the liveliest satisfaction throughout the country. On the return of General Napier, for a third time in his career he received the thanks of Parliament. Mr. Disraeli, in moving the vote, observed that happy was the man who had thrice thus been honoured by his country ; and he added respecting the expedition that he had "transported the ordnance of Europe, on the elephants of Asia, across the mountain ranges of Africa." Mr. Gladstone, in seconding the motion, remarked that the expedition would stand upon record as a rare example among those occasions when a nation resorted to the bloody arbitrament of war, in which not one drop had been added to the cup of human suffering that forethought or humanity could spare, and in which the severest critic would find nothing to condemn.

The Queen conferred on Sir Robert Napier the dignity of a peerage, with the title of Lord Napier of Magdala, and an annuity of £2000 per annum was granted to the new peer, to be continued to his next surviving male heir.

In 1870 Lord Napier was appointed Commander-in-Chief in India, a post which he held for the usual period of five years. On his return to England he was named Governor and Commander-in-Chief at Gibraltar, from which post he retired in 1882. In that year he was appointed a Field-Marshal, and in 1886 Constable of the Tower. In the middle of 1878, when there seemed every probability of a war between this country and Russia, Lord Napier was selected for the command of an expeditionary force, and he was summoned to

England to consult with the authorities of the War Office on the preliminaries of the expected campaign.

All who knew Lord Napier will bear witness to his high personal qualities. It has been pointed out by one writer that he bore a great resemblance to his old commander and friend, Sir James Outram. "There was the same gentleness, combined with fiery valour, the same unassuming manner, coupled with a noble contempt of danger, and withal, in a not less degree, did he possess the fascination which bound to him, by the ties of affection, his staff and others thrown into official contact with him, no less than his personal friends." In short, in him were admirably blended those typical virtues which have made the British soldier beloved at home and feared abroad. Mr. Gladstone expressed but the general sentiment when he said in the House of Commons that "Burke would never have lamented the decay of the age of chivalry had a Robert Napier flourished in his day."

The University of Oxford conferred the honorary degree of D.C.L. upon Lord Napier of Magdala in 1878, and he was also elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. His lordship was honorary colonel of the 10th Volunteer Battalion King's Royal Rifle Corps. Lord Napier was twice married—first, in 1840, to the daughter of Dr. Pearse, of the Madras Medical Establishment. This lady, who bore him six children, died in 1849. In 1861 his lordship married, secondly, a daughter of General Scott, of the Bengal Artillery, by whom he had a family of seven children. He is succeeded in the peerage by the eldest son of his first marriage, Colonel the Hon. Robert William Napier.

LEADING ARTICLE, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 15, 1890

Not in the British Isles alone, but throughout the whole Empire, the news of the death of Lord Napier of Magdala will be received with the deepest regret. The loss of an eminent public servant will be lamented, no less than the disappearance of a familiar figure from contemporary history. An element of selfishness in the grief is the highest tribute which can be paid to his memory. Though military records supply exceptions to the rule, generally at the age of eighty a soldier must be presumed to have finished his active work. If another hostile

cloud, as in 1878, had blown up in the direction of England, it is not likely that, in later years, Lord Napier of Magdala would have consented to be designated for the command. But the opinion of the country continued to rest upon him as the foremost of surviving British officers; and statesmen retained their faith in him as the sagest of military counsellors. National confidence is not earned in a moment, and, once won, it is steadfast. Lord Napier of Magdala had conquered it slowly and surely.

Never was there a career which ascended along more regular and indisputable stages. At every point it was able to bear the minutest inspection. Nothing in it was due to favour. It owed nothing to accident, unless of the sort which offers conspicuous occasion for failure as well as for distinction. Long before his name was current at home he had done enough to demonstrate capacity for the loftiest of military trusts. The engineer to the Durbar of Lahore, and to the Administration of the Punjab, the chief engineer at the sieges of Mooltan and on the field of Goojerat, Outram's Chief of the Staff, the victor of Joura Alipore, the second in command to Sir Hope Grant at Peking, and the Commander-in-Chief in Bombay, had civilised kingdoms, captured famous forts, been again and again face to face with death, performed an infinity of splendid exploits, and remained one of a mass of officers indiscriminately able and meritorious. Thanked by Parliament, decorated by his Sovereign, praised by every superior he had served, and advanced to exalted and lucrative posts, he was still comparatively unknown. Then came the opportunity which always arrives at last. He led a British army over the mountains of Abyssinia, routed Theodore's forces at Islamgee, and stormed a citadel which else might have been accounted impregnable. Thenceforward his countrymen recognised him for that he had proved himself full twenty years before, a military genius, fitted for any and every task which war can set a people.

The feature of a career, thus completed with a brilliancy which never afterwards faded, is the conjunction, before the climax, of abundance of success and an absence of notoriety. Few soldiers who have finally attained to his celebrity have been so constantly and worthily occupied, and yet been left so long in a dignified background. At the commencement the ascent for him was necessarily uphill. An officer in the Indian

army had to be satisfied at first with a local reputation. Engineers, whether Indian or British, probably would say that entrance into their branch must have been an additional impediment to advancement to the highest military grades. In any case he succeeded with sufficient facility and celerity in overcoming preliminary difficulties. Arduous and important duties were pressed on him while he was young. Before the eyes of the world he accomplished considerable things, and was not refused the credit of them. He was frequently mentioned in despatches. He was never neglected; yet, until his Bombay command pointed him out for the conduct of the Abyssinian expedition, invariably somebody stood in front and intercepted popular admiration. His magnificent roads in Oude and the Punjab redounded to the fame of Sir Henry Lawrence. His skill and gallantry at Goojerat heightened the glory of Lord Gough. His part in the siege of Lucknow was overshadowed by the laurels of Clyde and Outram. The arrival of Sir Hugh Rose took from his hands the immediate honour of the rout of Tantia Topee. Sir Hope Grant had precedence of him in the triumph over China.

All the chiefs he ever had were generous in their personal acknowledgment of his surpassing deserts. They testified enthusiastically to his engineering dexterity, to his perfect courage, to the wisdom of his advice, to his incessant and self-denying devotion. Their praises secured him employment rather than celebrity. Though it was not their fault that he was ever second, the public gaze cannot but be concentrated upon the first, and the consequence was that Robert Napier ~~stayed~~ in a sort of twilight to the mature age of fifty-seven. That may possibly have been temporarily prejudicial to the national interests, which he was well suited to have furthered, long before 1867, in a conspicuous position. It was scarcely to the detriment of his durable utility and value. As soon as he had really been found out, and became imperially visible, his claim to the nation's confidence was seen to be founded upon a life of noble service. A long vista of strenuous labours and brave deeds could be perceived, leading straight to an enterprise as astonishing as Suwarrow's in the Alps, but better planned and more victorious. His past, when duly discerned, was irrefutable evidence of his title to be trusted in the future. The Empire is fortunate, during the twenty-two years which have

passed since Magdala was stormed, in not having had to call upon him. It would be hard to exaggerate the worth to it of the sense that it possessed in him a leader ascertained, both in battle and in council, to have been most competent to lead the forces of England in a great European war.

Great Britain loses in Lord Napier of Magdala an illustrious soldier, and one of the kindest and most estimable of men. In the race for renown, which he was far from despising, he was often outstripped. The more rapid progress of others left no touch of bitterness on him. He never scorned to be a lieutenant because he might reasonably have expected to lead. By an experience which is almost more extraordinary, when it was his turn to go manifestly and irreversibly to the front, his ascendancy provoked no jealousy or envy. He had been nobody's enemy or maligner. His reward was to enjoy the somewhat unusual converse, and to be without detractors. Goodness and graciousness, such as his, are not substitutes in a campaign for professional intelligence and strategy. But in combination they become military virtues themselves. Troops, believing in their chief's fortune and abilities, will let themselves be conducted to victory by Marlborough who grudges them their bread. For one who sympathises with them, who would suffer rather than they, for whom his subordinates are all of them comrades, they will be heroic against desperate odds. Lord Napier of Magdala, if he is not to be reckoned among the foremost captains of history, had the true General's insight ; and he was, moreover, an admirable English gentleman. His countrymen are proud of him, and will mourn sincerely for his death. They would be inconsolable if they did not feel that he was a type of a class of British officers. The Queen's army, both in India and at home, contains others as capable as was he, as modest and as sympathetic, as equal to the utmost demands which circumstances can make upon them, though only now and then will a conjuncture happen which, like an Abyssinian Expedition, throws the light backwards along a soldier's past, and shows him to have been, through the whole, potentially, as rightful an owner as was Robert Napier of the Field-Marshal's baton, and of an Empire's regard.

SIR WILLIAM GULL

OBITUARY NOTICE, THURSDAY, JANUARY 30, 1890

SIR WILLIAM WITHEY GULL was born at Thorpe-le-Soken, in Essex, in December 1816, so that he had recently completed his seventy-third year, and, like many men who have risen to eminence, he was of humble origin. His father, a barge owner on the river Lea, was a tenant of Guy's Hospital, and received from the then treasurer, Mr. Benjamin Harrison, a presentation for his son to Christ's Hospital. After completing his education there, the future baronet took an engagement as usher in a school at Lewes; and, while he was so employed, a need arose for some one who wrote a good hand, and understood Latin, to prepare a new catalogue for the Museum of Guy's Hospital. The treasurer thought of young Gull, who accepted the position offered him, and he soon afterwards showed a desire to become a member of the medical profession.

He entered as a pupil at Guy's in 1837, was a very zealous and distinguished student, and, when he had graduated as Bachelor of Medicine at the University of London, in 1841, the treasurer determined to secure his future services for the hospital. He was appointed assistant resident medical officer, and medical tutor, and afterwards resident superintendent of a small asylum for twenty insane women which formed part of Guy's. In 1843 he was appointed lecturer on natural philosophy, and, in 1846, on physiology and comparative anatomy. In the same year he took his degree as Doctor of Medicine, with honours, and in 1848 was elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians. In 1847 he became Fullerian Professor of Physiology at the Royal Institution, and, in 1848, he gave the Gullstonian lectures

(on paralysis) before the Royal College of Physicians. He was appointed assistant physician to Guy's Hospital, and afterwards, in due course, physician and consulting physician. In 1856 he became Lecturer on Medicine, and held this office until 1867. He was Censor of his college for the years 1859-61 and 1872-73, and delivered the Harveian Oration in 1870. His first great step in practice was in connection with the last illness of Bishop Blomfield, in 1857, and after this he rapidly rose in the estimation of the public until the time when, as Physician in Ordinary to the Prince of Wales, he took the chief direction of the treatment of His Royal Highness during his attack of typhoid fever at the close of 1871. In acknowledgment of his great services on that occasion, he was created a baronet in January 1872, and Physician Extraordinary to the Queen, and was made Physician in Ordinary in 1887. In the autumn of the same year he was for the first time attacked by paralysis when in Scotland; and, although he rallied, and recovered to a great extent, he has not since been able to engage in practice.

In the course of Sir William Gull's long and honourable career, many distinctions of various kinds were bestowed upon him. He was made a D.C.L. of Oxford in 1868, a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1869, LL.D. of Cambridge in 1880, and of Edinburgh in 1884. He was a Crown member of the General Medical Council from 1871 to 1883, and representative of the University of London in the Council from 1886 until his illness in the following year.

Sir William Gull was not a large contributor to the literature of his profession, but what he did in this direction was work of a high order. Perhaps the best-known of his writings was the report on cholera for the Royal College of Physicians, which he prepared conjointly with the late Dr. Baly. He was also the first to describe, under the name of "a cretinoid condition in the adult," the disease which has since received the name of *myxœdema*.

Sir William Gull's success in practice was largely due to his minute attention to details, and to his unremitting care in the management of his patients. When the Prince of Wales had passed through the worst portion of his illness, the *Times*, on 19th December 1871, contained a letter from a correspondent • who was enabled to express the opinion of the royal family, and who said :

"Sir W. Jenner would be the first to extol the exertions of the colleague who has earned from all at Sandringham what he valued probably only second to the approbation of his own conscience—the deepest gratitude. In Dr. Gull were combined energy that never tired, watchfulness that never flagged, nursing so tender, ministry so minute, that in his functions he seemed to combine the duties of physician, dresser, dispenser, valet, nurse—now arguing with the sick man in his delirium so softly and pleasantly that the parched lips opened to take the scanty nourishment on which depended the reserves of strength for the deadly fight when all else failed, now lifting the wasted body from bed to bed, now washing the worn frame with vinegar, with ever-ready eye and ear and finger to mark any change and phase, to watch face and heart and pulse, and passing at times twelve or fourteen hours at that bedside. And when that was over, or while it was going on—what a task for a physician!—to soothe with kindest and yet not too hopeful words her whose trial was indeed great to bear, to give counsel against despair and yet not to justify confidence."

The high encomium which these words conveyed would be repeated, in some degree, by all who had ever watched his solicitude for a case of serious illness.

In 1848, while still a resident official at Guy's Hospital, Sir William married a daughter of Colonel Lacey, of Carlisle. Lady Gull and a son and daughter survive him. The son, Mr. William Cameron Gull, who inherits the title, is a barrister, and the daughter is married to Dr. Acland, of Brook Street, son of Sir Henry Acland.

LORD CARNARVON

OBITUARY NOTICE, MONDAY, JUNE 30, 1890

HENRY HOWARD MOLYNEUX HERBERT, fourth Earl of Carnarvon, and Baron Porchester, was born on 24th June 1831, and was the son of Henry John George, the third Earl, and of his wife, Henrietta, daughter of Lord Henry Molyneux Howard, and niece of the twelfth Duke of Norfolk. He was descended from that Henry Herbert, grandson of the eighth Earl of Pembroke, who in 1780 was created Baron Porchester, and in 1793 Earl of Carnarvon. His father, the third Earl, was a man of some literary and scholarly distinction in his day; and the late Earl, with his two brothers and his sister, Lady Portsmouth, inherited the father's tastes. His next brother, Dr. Alan Herbert, has been for many years the well-known physician to the British Embassy in Paris; and the third brother is the Hon. Auberon Herbert. Lord Carnarvon distinguished himself early; he made his mark at Eton, and at Christ Church he read to such good purpose that in 1852 he obtained a first class in *Literis Humanioribus*. Three years before he had succeeded to the title on the death of his father; and soon after taking his degree he began to take part in the debates in the House of Lords. Lord Derby, the leader of his party, complimented him on his maiden speech, and six years afterwards, in 1858, appointed him Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. It is somewhat curious to observe that Lord Carnarvon never took office in any other than the Colonial Department until he became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1885. He was ready enough to take his part in the general political business of the country, frequently speaking and writing on non-colonial

subjects, but as a Minister his Department was always the Colonies.

Lord Carnarvon, as a young man, had his fair share of travelling, and in 1860 published a book on *The Druses of the Lebanon*. Nine years later he edited some journals of a visit to Greece made in 1839 by his father. At this time he was already the holder of a position of great dignity in the world of scholarship, having been in 1859 appointed High Steward of the University of Oxford. Meantime, however, he had an abundance of official and parliamentary work to do, and was gradually attaining a position of influence in the councils of the Conservative party. His name is frequently to be found in the records of the Lords' debates of the time, and he obtained for himself an excellent reputation for industry, moderation, and good sense.

When, in the summer of 1866, the Government of Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone were defeated on one of the clauses of their Reform Bill, and when on their resignation the late Lord Derby was called upon to form a Ministry, Lord Carnarvon entered the Cabinet as Secretary for the Colonies. In this capacity it fell to him to propose the measure which, next to the Reform Bill, was the most important of the session of 1867—the Bill for the Confederation of the British North American Provinces. The time was ripe for such a change. Fore-shadowed in Lord Durham's famous Report thirty years before, it had frequently occupied the minds both of Canadian and of English statesmen, and the principal lines of the Bill had in point of fact been laid down by Mr. Cardwell, the out-going Secretary for the Colonies. Lord Carnarvon found much of the work done to his hand, and he took it up with enthusiasm. He moved the second reading on 19th February in a speech of considerable eloquence, and had the satisfaction of seeing his Bill passed through the Lords with scarcely a dissentient voice. The reception which it met with in the House of Commons was not so unanimously favourable, several members of the House objecting, in their usual fashion, to the companion Bill which proposed a guarantee for the inter-colonial railway. Mr. Lowe's political economy, for instance, was outraged by the proposal, and another member declared that the railway "would never pay for its own grease." In those days the notion of a Canadian Pacific, successfully competing with three or four other great trans-continental

lines, would have seemed the wildest dream. In spite of opposition, however, both Bills became law, and the "Dominion of Canada" began what we may confidently hope will be a long career of public prosperity in close union with the mother-country.

Unfortunately, however, Lord Carnarvon had ceased to be a member of the Government before his Bill had gone very far on its way. He was never what is called a robust politician, but carried scrupulousness and sensitiveness in public life almost to a fault. No less than three times during his career did he find himself obliged to part from his colleagues, and he thus affords probably the only instance in our history of a Cabinet Minister who, after twice resigning, has again been begged to take office. The first occasion was early in March 1867, when, together with Lord Cranborne (the present Lord Salisbury) and General Peel, he resigned office because he could not assent to the provisions of the Reform Bill. The curious circumstances of the case are still fresh in the memory of all who were witnesses of the events of that momentous year, the turning-point in the political history of modern England, when, by a series of dramatic surprises, Mr. Disraeli transferred the political power of the country from the middle to the working class, and changed our constitution into what is practically a democracy. The resignation of the three Ministers was one of the surprises.

According to the explanatory speech made a few days later by Sir John Pakington to his constituents, when the Cabinet meeting broke up two days before the introduction of the Bill it was believed that everything had been settled and that all the Ministers were unanimous. The night brought counsel to the three dissentients; they came to the conclusion that the proposed measure went too far in the direction of democracy; and they resigned. This was on the Monday morning. At half-past twelve the remainder of the Cabinet, hastily summoned, met again, with an extremely disagreeable situation to face. At two Lord Derby was to address the party at the Carlton Club; at half-past four Mr. Disraeli was to explain the Government Reform Bill to the House of Commons. But there had been in fact two draft Reform Bills—draft A, less democratic and surrounded with supposed safeguards, and draft B, more democratic and more simple. It was draft B that had been adopted at the former Cabinet Council, but now, in the hope of retaining the

three rebellious members, the Cabinet, driven to make a hurried decision, threw it over and reverted to the other measure—the measure which, on the strength of Sir John Pakington's speech, was henceforth irreverently called by its opponents the "ten minutes' Bill." We are not concerned with the subsequent history of the session, and it is enough to say that none of the three Ministers consented to resume office, and that the safeguards had to be abandoned.

During the next seven years Lord Carnarvon contented himself with performing the ordinary duties of a peer in opposition. He spoke from time to time in the House of Lords on questions where the Conservative party undertook to oppose the acts of Mr. Gladstone's Ministry; but his opposition was seldom without reservations. For example, in the famous debate on Mr. Gladstone's Bill for disestablishing the Irish Church, he criticised, but he did not condemn; he was for accepting with modifications and not, like the Bishop of Peterborough, for rejecting the Bill altogether. Next year he gained much admiration for a speech on the massacre of Englishmen by Greek brigands—one of the victims having been a near relative of his own. And on many different occasions he took a part in the debates of the day, retaining his position as something of a specialist in colonial affairs.

When, in 1874, Mr. Disraeli returned to power, finding himself for the first time at the head of the majority in the House of Commons, he again offered Lord Carnarvon his old post at the Colonial Office. The breach was by this time healed; household suffrage had long been an accomplished fact, and on the strength of the handsome majority which it had just given to their party, Lord Carnarvon and Lord Salisbury were free to confess that their fears in 1867 had been exaggerated. By this time, too, they had more or less got over their distrust of the remarkable man, three parts genius and one part charlatan, who led the Tory party in the House of Commons and in the country. Accordingly, Lord Carnarvon accepted the Colonial Office with the understanding that he should attempt in another important part of our colonial Empire to carry out a similar policy to that which had succeeded so well in Canada. The problem of South African Confederation, however, proved to be far more difficult than the similar problem in North America, and the manner in which the Secretary of State and Sir Bartle Frere, the

Governor of Cape Colony, endeavoured to push it forward produced considerable irritation. Probably the time was not yet ripe. Lord Carnarvon had quitted office before the Zulu War opened a period of disaster for South Africa, for on 24th January 1878 he resigned in consequence of the Cabinet having decided to order the British fleet to proceed to the Dardanelles. This was at the most critical moment of that phase of the Eastern Question; the moment when, the forces of Turkey having been defeated in the field by Russia, peace was about to be concluded, but on terms which, in the opinion of Lord Beaconsfield and his friends, were* thought to threaten the interests of this country. Lord Beaconsfield, questioned as to the movements of the fleet, explained that the Government had directed it to proceed to the Dardanelles, and thence, if necessary, to go to Constantinople "to defend the lives and properties of British subjects in that city and to take care of British interests in the Straits"; that a telegraphic despatch to the Powers had been prepared with this information; but that when the news of the proposed conditions had arrived the Admiral had been ordered to remain in Besika Bay. Lord Carnarvon then explained why he had resigned. He confessed that his relations with the Prime Minister had during the whole of the month been somewhat strained; that on the 12th he had opposed in the Cabinet Council the proposal to send the fleet to the Dardanelles; that on the 15th, when the Government determined to send it, he handed in his resignation, but withdrew it when the decision was rescinded; but that on the 23rd he definitely resigned on the Cabinet's resolving that the fleet should be sent to Constantinople. Lord Derby had also given in his resignation at the same time, but had withdrawn it only to hand it in again in the month of March, when the Cabinet decided to call out the Reserves. The loss of two important colleagues was, of course, a serious thing to Lord Beaconsfield; but, considering the extremely critical state of our relations with Russia during the whole of that winter and spring, the manner in which events developed themselves from day to day, and the moral burden which inevitably lies upon Ministers when they feel that they may very likely be leading their country into war, it was not surprising that two of them should give way; and it was evidently natural that one of the two should be Lord Carnarvon.

It was not till June 1885, when Lord Salisbury formed his first and short-lived Administration, that Lord Carnarvon took office again. In the interval he filled what was in some respects the more congenial position of President of the Society of Antiquaries; for, though not a learned man in the German sense of the term, he was eminently accomplished, he took a real interest in the past, and he was equally happy in translating the *Odyssey* into verse and in discussing points of the archæology of Berkshire and Hampshire. He was an excellent president of the Society, extremely courteous in manner and gifted with a considerable power of speech; but when it came to the severer work of political administration, his success, it must honestly be said, was not so great. He joined the Salisbury Government as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland with a seat in the Cabinet, his Chief Secretary being Sir William Hart Dyke, and the event for which it will be remembered in history is the celebrated and ill-omened interview which he had with Mr. Parnell in what the latter called "an empty house in London." The accounts given of this interview by the two persons concerned were diametrically opposed. Mr. Parnell said that "Lord Carnarvon expressed to him the strongest belief that only by the concession of an Irish Parliament could the Irish question be settled; that it was to be a Parliament, and that it was to be called a Parliament; that it was to have the most extensive powers, even going as far as the right of protecting Irish industries by the imposition of protective tariffs." In the House of Lords, on 3rd May 1888, Lord Carnarvon declared that all this was correct, with one important exception—that it had been said not by him, but by Mr. Parnell. And, of course, the English believed Lord Carnarvon's version, and the Irish believed Mr. Parnell's. Lord Carnarvon resigned the Lord-Lieutenancy before the resignation of the Government, and there followed the curious little episode of Mr. W. H. Smith's appointment as Chief Secretary—a post which he only held long enough to pay one flying visit to Dublin before the Government came to an end.

Lord Carnarvon's literary productiveness was considerable. Besides the books that we have mentioned he edited in 1875 a posthumous work of Dean Mansel, the celebrated Oxford logician, Conservative politician, and humorist, who at the end of his life found himself appointed to the Deanery of St.

Paul's. Lord Carnarvon prefaced this book on the *Gnostic Heresies of the First and Second Centuries* with a sketch of the life and character of the author—a sketch of one man by another as totally unlike him as it is possible to conceive. In 1879 he published a verse translation of the *Agamemnon* and some years after another of the *Odyssey*. Our readers will remember that he was a frequent correspondent of the *Times*, both on political and literary subjects; and quite recently contributed to the discussion on the execution of Charles I. He was a hard-working member of the Historical Manuscripts Commission and, in another line of life, held the high posts of pro-Grand Master of the Freemasons of England and Grand Master of Somerset. He was Constable of Carnarvon Castle, High Steward of Newbury, and Lord-Lieutenant of Hampshire. He was twice married, first to Lady Evelyn Stanhope, sister to the late Lord Chesterfield, and, secondly, to Elizabeth Catherine, daughter of the late Mr. Howard, of Greystoke, and sister to Mr. Stafford Howard, formerly M.P. for East Cumberland. His eldest son and heir, Lord Porchester, was at Trinity College, Cambridge, and has for some years past travelled much in distant parts of the world; his eldest daughter, Lady Winifred, who was for a short time married to the late Captain the Hon. Alfred Byng, has recently formed a second marriage with Mr. Herbert Gardner, M.P. It should be added that to his connection with the Chesterfield family Lord Carnarvon owed the opportunity of making his last and most interesting publication, that volume of Lord Chesterfield's *Letters to his Godson* which was one of the great successes of last autumn and which was reviewed at length in these columns.

Lord Carnarvon's loss will be sincerely mourned by a very wide circle, and will be felt in many different sections of society. We do not speak so much of the political world, where, though he spoke well and always with sincerity, his over-sensitiveness made him often rather an element of weakness than of strength to his allies. But in many other relations of life he was altogether admirable; not only to his family and intimate friends, who loved him devotedly, but to his tenants, to his colleagues in many public bodies, and to all those who were on terms of ordinary social intercourse with him. He was high-minded, accomplished, sincere, kindly; a devout member of the Church of England, and an eminently good man.

He was not born to lead in troublous times, but he was born to fill a prominent place in our complex society, and to keep in touch with many and diverse interests ; and now that he has gone, the worst that can be said of him is that he was too conscientious for partisanship and too scrupulous for political success.

SIR EDWIN CHADWICK

OBITUARY NOTICE, MONDAY, JULY 7, 1890

WE regret to record the death of Sir Edwin Chadwick. He had more than completed his ninetieth year, and seemed to be a living proof of the personal application of those sanitary laws and principles he had so indefatigably advocated. To the last the veteran sanitary reformer had preserved his intellectual faculties with something of his bodily vigour. It is true that in his own case nature had given good materials to work with, for he had inherited a sturdy frame, a sound constitution, and an indisputable family title to longevity. Both his father and grandfather had been spared to ages almost patriarchal.

To the last Sir Edwin Chadwick was a familiar figure at his club, and many an *habitué* of the Athenæum will miss the benevolent and leonine face, wrinkled with the lines of thought, and surmounted by the black skull-cap. His features, as they well might, wore an expression of serene complacency; for he has been given to few men to do more or better work in his own special departments. He had turned his long life to good account, for he had early recognised his special bent, and had thenceforth followed it out with steadfast determination. His shortcomings were those of a will strong to excess, which had always striven to assert its ascendancy. But he would never have wielded the influence he did wield over the statesmen who controlled public legislation had he not impressed them with his thorough knowledge of his subjects and swayed them by the logical reasoning which was solidly based on statistics. Figures and undeniable facts were the talismans with which he accomplished achievements which to the contemporaries of his early

manhood would have seemed miraculous. He may be said to have been the father of modern sanitary science. We have been told that that man is a benefactor of the human race who makes two blades of grass grow where one grew before. Then what is to be said of one who did so much towards prolonging innumerable human lives?

Edwin Chadwick was born in 1800, with the beginning of the century. He came of a family long settled near Rochdale, where there is a hamlet bearing the name of Chadwick. His grandfather, locally known as "Good old Andrew," had been the friend of John Wesley, and had founded the first Sunday school in Lancashire. The venerable sage set his face against the snares of riches, and so conscientiously did he practise the opinions he preached that he declined to put in his claim to a valuable inheritance. Old Andrew's eldest son never had a similar opportunity; he emigrated to America, where he followed the calling of a journalist, and seems to have left little behind him. Young Edwin had his way to make in the world, and although his education was not neglected, he had no great advantages. He was taught at private schools and by tutors; he went into an attorney's office when a mere lad, but he soon determined to try his fortunes at the Bar, and entered himself a student at the Inner Temple. He read and studied with the resolution of getting on in his profession, but in the meantime he had to support himself. So he betook himself to reporting, and then tried literary work, and the remarkable success of his first literary efforts gave an unexpected turn to his career.

It was more than sixty years ago that he wrote an essay on "Life Assurance," which appeared in the *Westminster Review*. It is characteristic of the maturity of reflection shown even in his earliest writings that they attracted the attention of eminent statistical authorities. To the essay on "Life Assurance" he was indebted for the notice and countenance of Mr. Grote and the two Mills, and, indeed, it contained the germs of those ideas which were to give definite purpose to his life. So when he wrote a second article, on "Preventive Police," it was the means of introducing him to Jeremy Bentham. Bentham, who was then in his eighty-second year, engaged the young economist's assistance in the completion of his work on the Administrative Code. Chadwick, who in the meantime had been called to the Bar, went to reside with Bentham, and was under his roof when he

died. So highly did the old philosopher value his young *protégé* that he offered to assure him an independence on condition of his becoming the priest and interpreter of the Benthamite Revelation. Chadwick declined the offer, although he had adopted his master's views. But he came in for a legacy, which probably gave him leisure for reflecting as to whether he should persevere with his profession or trade with his peculiar talents. It is certain that his mind was engrossed with his favourite sanitary subjects, and in exploring the dens and slums of East London while an epidemic was running its course he was struck down by malignant typhus, and nearly sacrificed his life to his enthusiasm.

Soon after his recovery the question of his future pursuits was finally determined by an offer of employment in the public service, and thenceforth one official appointment was to lead on to another. In 1832 Lord Grey's Government nominated the first Poor Law Commission, and Chadwick was offered the place of an Assistant Commissioner. He stood at the parting of the ways, and he repeatedly told his friend Mr. Richardson that he hesitated anxiously over the decision. He liked the law, and believed he had fair prospects. On the other hand, the employment offered him was temporary and precarious and might lead to nothing further. The hesitation was natural, but, knowing him as we know him now, the decision could hardly be long in doubt. He went into Government harness. It was his business to conduct investigations in the country districts; he threw himself with his whole soul into his duties, and accumulated such a mass of novel and startling facts that in the following year he was invited to become a Commissioner. We fancy his colleagues soon found that they had given themselves a master. The man of decided opinions and exceptional knowledge, who is always ready for work, is sure to engross the lion's share of authority.

For good and evil, to Mr. Chadwick must be chiefly ascribed the root-and-branch work which was made of the old system. It is true that there was much abuse in the old methods, and that this was inevitable when each of some 16,000 parishes was supposed to be ministering to its own poor. The neglect in the more benighted districts was often shameful; and there was great waste of money in the excessive decentralisation. But the sweeping and radical reformation, although it fell far short of

Mr. Chadwick's fond aspirations, really amounted to revolution. It indiscriminately condemned everything existing as abuse ; it enforced rigorous laws with too relentless logic, and it carried the principle of centralisation very unnecessarily far. The suddenness of the sweeping changes made the hardships more severely felt, and sundry bitter complaints of the victims enlisted the sympathies, not only of the benevolent, but also of some of the shrewdest and best men in the country. Sir Edwin Chadwick always protested that he had no exclusive responsibility for the harshest and most oppressive measures.

In 1833 Chadwick was actively employed for six weeks on the Royal Commission appointed to investigate the condition of factory children, and of course he had a chief concern in drawing up the exhaustive report which afterwards became the basis of the Ten Hours Act. In the following year he was nominated to be paid Secretary to the new Poor Law Board, which, though it appeared to be a step downwards into a subordinate position, we are told was really intended to strengthen his executive power. That he exerted his power to the uttermost may be taken for granted ; and for a time the Board was pretty constantly in hot water. He was resolutely opposed to outdoor relief on any terms to the able-bodied. We may be sure that the strong-willed and somewhat domineering Secretary was not always in the right when we remember that the colleagues from whom he chiefly differed were Sir George Cornewall Lewis and Sir Francis Head. Whether right or wrong, he must have been an aggravating colleague, and the inevitable cause of much friction and irritation. For he was always recalling his fellow-councillors to a sense of their duties, and sending in protests and appeals to the Minister at the head of the department.

As to the inestimable value of his sanitary labours there can be no room for dispute. It is to him the country is indebted for the first Sanitary Commission, which inaugurated the era of reforms. It was appointed in 1838 in consequence of an application to Chadwick by the authorities of Whitechapel parish, who had been paralysed and driven to despair by an epidemical outbreak. Tracing the outbreak to its foul sources, the Commission threw a flood of light on the unwholesome conditions of the over-crowded tenements in those poverty-stricken districts. Moreover, it awakened scientific and intelligent interest in the practicable measures for prevention and cure. The report was

circulated throughout the country, and used as a suggestive manual of reference, not only by the municipalities of the great manufacturing cities, but by the magistrates of old-fashioned towns, which paid for their picturesqueness in their death-rates.

As to the death-rates, Mr. Chadwick had already been agitating for an inquiry into the causes as well as the number of deaths. Lord John Russell, who had approved all his Poor Law policy, was somewhat indifferent on the subject. So Chadwick turned from the Whigs to the Tories, and succeeded in securing the eloquent advocacy of Lord Lyndhurst, who introduced a clause at his dictation into the new Act, which was carried smoothly through the Lords and subsequently passed the Commons. Thus was established the Registrar-General's office. Statistics, scientifically analysed and prepared with infinite care, have furnished standards for estimating the comparative salubrity of cities, and, what is more important, for getting at the bottom of the causes of any abnormal rates of mortality. Intemperance was, of course, found accountable in a great degree for hereditary diseases and premature death. As to that, Mr. Chadwick gave elaborate evidence before a Committee of the Commons. He dwelt upon the large sums that were squandered on drink, and proposed to grapple with the evil by many of the means which are now the familiar "planks" of the platforms of the Total Abstinence Society. Some of the facts he mentioned illustrate the minuteness and exactitude of the new methods of statistical research, although the figures must be taken as merely approximative. It had been calculated, for example, that in a single East End parish £30 in each £100 distributed in outdoor relief was spent on liquor in the same day. Things were bad enough everywhere, and the sanitation was sufficiently infamous. Yet the tables of Chadwick and Dr. Farr, of the Registrar-General's office, established what Macaulay and other modern historians maintained—that the health of the country, and consequently the condition of the poor, had been steadily improving. The mortality even in Elizabeth's time was 40 in 1000, and immense progress had been made in dealing with epidemics since the terrible Black Death had devastated the Eastern Counties in the reign of the third Edward. Another Sanitary Commission was appointed by Sir Robert Peel in 1844, and very much at Mr. Chadwick's suggestion, in order to make

a general investigation into the national health and the best means for improving it.

In 1846 the Poor Law Board was dissolved, Chadwick having come to an open quarrel with his brother-commissioners, and from that time we may say that his attention was wholly turned to sanitation. In 1847, with other distinguished sanitarians, he was sitting on a commission to inquire into the health of London. In 1848 he was nominated one of the permanent commissioners of the original Board of Health. When the Board of Health was broken up he withdrew from public life on a well-earned pension of £1000, residing first at Richmond and afterwards at Sheen. But although unemployed officially, he was not inactive. His advice was often asked, and when it was not asked it was offered. He did excellent service in the Crimean campaign by persuading Lord Palmerston to send out commissioners to inquire into and relieve the sufferings of the soldiers. The result was so satisfactory that it led to a similar investigation as to the heavy rate of mortality in our Indian forces, which had equally beneficial effects. In 1867 he offered himself unsuccessfully as a candidate for the representation of London University, and his failure, perhaps, was not to be regretted, for specialists who enter Parliament so late in life seldom increase their influence or reputation. Since then he found more suitable opportunities for rehearsing and enforcing his views as president of Sanitary Congresses, as president of the Society of Sanitary Inspectors, and as president of the Economical Section at meetings of the British Association. In 1848 he received the Companionship of the Bath ; but he had to wait for his knighthood till last year, when his deserts were tardily recognised by promotion to the rank of K.C.B.

His voluminous writings in their comprehensive scope, although dry enough reading as a rule, abound in curious facts and valuable suggestions. His numerous letters to this journal will be fresh in the recollection of our readers. He never under-estimated the evils with which he undertook to cope, yet he was no pessimist. We have shown that he had satisfied himself of the improved condition of the poor, even before he had begun to labour for their benefit, and he noted a more than corresponding advance in the morals and physique of the upper classes. The aristocracy were much the healthier for having given up hard drinking, and, unlike the blue-blooded

grandees of Old Spain, they had sensibly bettered the quality of the breed by condescending to plebeian marriages. As to drinking, though he set himself against intemperance on every ground, he never advocated total abstinence. Discussing the manifold causes of death, he directs attention to mental as well as bodily maladies. He speaks of the slow tortures endured in the old days by the inmates of debtors' prisons, and in a striking passage he asks if it would be possible to calculate the average mortality among the harassed suitors in Chancery.

In an interesting exchange of letters with Professor Owen he examined the psychological limits of mental labour, more especially in the case of the young. He gave great consideration to physical training ; he laid down sound rules for sanitary architecture ; he thought out the treatment of the sick and insane ; he did much to do away with the horrors and dangers of intramural interment ; and from the time when, as a young man of twenty-nine, he wrote his second essay on "Preventive Police," he had never ceased to interest himself in the subject, offering practical suggestions, which were embodied in legislation. The sanitary works that have been undertaken during the last half-century in every civilised nation may be said to be so many monuments to Chadwick's memory.

CARDINAL NEWMAN

OBITUARY NOTICE, TUESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1890

THE greatest name in that matter which most occupies, most unites, and most divides men is now resigned to history. Cardinal Newman is gone to that rest which for him will not be happiness if it does not give work to be done. His disappearance from the stage of life is no sudden event. It is not as if an army had lost its commander in mid-battle, or as if the tongue of the orator had become suddenly mute, or the lyre had dropped from the poet's hand. It is not a future that has vanished with the past, or a cataract of life that has been arrested in full flow. The truth is the great Cardinal has occupied so exceptional a place in human affairs that, while he has largely influenced them, he has had himself to discover and even to recognise that they could go on without him. Standing apart from the world, he has long been on excellent terms with it, and they part in peace. Rome, wisely and happily for its credit and its influence, eleven years ago added his name to its highest list of honour ; but, otherwise, Cardinal Newman may be said to have been without a place in the earth's pedigrees and successions ; to have been left out of common reckoning, tied by no allegiance, complicated by no secular ties, "without father or mother," in the links of causation and the rolls of time. Forty years have now shown that the Church of England can pursue its course without his guidance or his warnings ; still more have they shown that it is not such men the Church of Rome most trusts and employs. The Cardinal has long taken his position as a "Father" of we know not what century in that constellation of acute and saintly minds that still

illumines the dark interval between ancient and modern civilisation. It was his own choice to be *Athanasius contra mundum*. Whether from his ashes will rise the avenger, to do for him the work he has not seen done with his own eyes, and so reverse the judgment of time, is beyond even conjecture. For the present a mighty man has fallen, yet we are much as we were.

John Henry Newman began his life with the century, for he was born in the City of London on 21st February 1801. His father was a partner in two successive banking firms, from the French Revolution to the disastrous crisis of 1816, when his firm, like a crowd of others, had temporarily to suspend payment. His mother was of a Huguenot family long resident in London, and remarkable for ingenuity and enterprise. Two of her brothers brought over, perfected, and established the paper-making machine. John H. Newman, with his not less remarkable brother Frank, was sent to Dr. Nicholas, at Ealing, the best private school in England, at a time when the tide of opinion had turned against public schools. Newman was easily and soon the top boy of the school. He had already shown a decided taste for music, becoming at thirteen a proficient on the violin, and composing a sort of opera. Music was in the blood, and also in the Newman circle of friendship.

At fifteen he received the impulse, ever after credited with the formation of his career. This was through Mr. Walter Mayers, who had much talk with him, and lent him books, which were devoured, probably, as they had never been before. As far as Englishmen can be described in Continental terms, this excellent and very amiable clergyman was a Calvinist. Through him, and especially through one of Scott's works lent by him, Newman felt himself converted. From that year he ever dated his spiritual life, or his "regeneration." In his *Apologia* he utterly ignores the first fifteen years of his life, including all that father, mother, brothers, sisters, clergymen, or other friends might have done for him. In so doing he has given scope for inferences for which he seemed not to have been quite prepared. Of course, he learned the Church Catechism, but he also read the Bible thoroughly, and acquired a great liking for it, which is by no means a matter of course in boyhood. Did he read the Bible without any interpreter? Did he read it, also, without profit? Did he return again and

again to the study of the Word without being yet a child of grace? That at fifteen he might be persuaded to think little of himself is likely enough, but it is strange to find so little felt, at least said, for his natural teachers. Yet every one who has had to do with the teaching or training of boys must be painfully aware that in one sense it is a most thankless task. At about fifteen there is such an expansion of mind and real development of character that in the new vision of life the old is forgotten. A grown-up man looks back and sees himself emerging out of the bright mist separating boyhood from youth. That is the beginning of his mental history.

Still under these novel impressions, Newman went to Trinity College, Oxford. About the same time the family came down from affluence to simple competency, and Newman, who had been destined for the Bar, felt a higher calling. His own religious feelings disposed him to friendships in what were then the not very large or very distinguished, or, indeed, very refined Evangelical circles. But the College system operates as a cross division in all social matters, and just as it brings together different classes, so it gives to different schools of opinion the opportunity of friendly disagreement and sometimes final approximation. Newman's Trinity friendships were his longest and, perhaps, his deepest; but they were out of the Evangelical circle in which he first appeared at Oxford. As all the world knows, and as has happened to many others from whom great things were expected, Newman failed for honours. His reading, he used to say, had been too discursive. His health, however, had broken down. He was only nineteen, the age at which many men now enter the University. Much also depends on the Examiners. Perhaps it may be added that Newman's independent and autocratic character might easily put him out of the groove of an examination. He certainly was more likely to say things his own way than in the way expected by an Examiner; and, if the Examiner could only understand things in his own way, there would ensue a continual misunderstanding. It was as a Scholar of Trinity, and residing in that very pleasant college, that Newman, together with his dear friend John Bowden, wrote and published the now famous poem on St. Bartholomew's Eve. The Cardinal was always proud of that work, perhaps as his first-born, and he even took the pains to put on record his share of it. This might be to show that it was from no ignorance

of Rome, of early leaning, that he finally submitted to her and became her foremost champion.

Three years after taking his degree Newman was elected Fellow of the College with which his name will ever be most associated, and which is proud to place him by the side of Raleigh, Butler, and, we may add, Copleston in the highest rank of its worthies. Though evidently not understood by the last-named, who was then Provost, and who measured men by the figure they made in a literary tournament, Newman rapidly won a place in the hearts of many good men. It was here, and in this interval of peace and quietness, that he became Whately's ally and Vice-Principal and the long-attached friend of Keble, Pusey, Froude, and Robert and Henry Wilberforce. It was here that he learnt to love and revere Edward Hawkins, in whose long and steadfast course the Cardinal's Oxford career seems but a brief episode. Dr. Hawkins was a member of Oriel College seventy years, Provost fifty-five.

Though Newman lived long in a short time, his whole connection with the College only extended to twenty-three years. His mental acquaintance with the future Provost began as early as his own undergraduate days, when he heard the latter's sermon on "Unauthoritative Tradition," which sent his thoughts in a new direction. When he became better acquainted with the preacher he learnt from him to weigh his words and to be cautious in his statements. Hawkins bestowed friendly and useful criticisms on the first sermon he wrote. He lent Newman Sumner's treatise on *Apostolical Teaching*, which Newman says dispelled his remaining Calvinism. If he did not receive this creed till fifteen, he could easily dismiss it at twenty-three. The doctrine of "Apostolical Succession," he said, he received from Mr. William James, a very good and very sensible Fellow of the College, but not the man one would expect to change the current of a national theology. Long before this, in his unconverted state as he afterwards deemed it, he had employed himself with evidence, reading *The Age of Reason*, Hume's *Essays*, and Voltaire. Later on he wrote a long but now forgotten article on the miraculous story of Apollonius Tyanæus, to distinguish between false miracles and true.

Of all his contemporaries, or early friends, the one whose relations with him have excited the most curiosity is Keble. Newman has put on record that Keble was shy of him at first

and for some time. Being where they then were, they had every reason for being shy of one another; but the truth is Keble was shy of everybody at first, and at that time Newman was also. At this distance of time it seems almost inconceivable that for several years the most constant and familiar member of Oriel society was that very interesting but very singular personage, Blanco White, with his mediæval lore and his philosophical ideas. Like many other brooding spirits, he deeply felt the power of music, and, though an indifferent performer, had frequent quartettes with Newman at his lodgings.

At twenty-three Newman was ordained deacon, and took charge of the Trasteverine parish of St. Clement's for four years. There is a certain mystery about his preaching during this period, for all his published sermons bear St. Mary's on their face. The old church of St. Clement's was a mean little structure, on the eastern slope of the well-known bridge, which of late years has had to sacrifice its picturesque features to give space to a tramway. Newman had to see to the building of a new church on a conspicuous but not very accessible site. His preaching excited some curiosity, not so much in the University at large as in Evangelical circles, where close agreement and familiar phrases were wont to be expected, and could not be missed without suspicion.

In 1825, on the death of Peter Elmsley, Whately became Principal of St. Alban's Hall, and invited Newman to share the teaching of his small and awkward squad as Vice-Principal. Whately always liked to have somebody about him ready and competent to receive his emanations. The habit is a good one, but risky, and Whately had his failures. To judge by the sequel, Newman was one of these. For the present, however, they appreciated one another, and there was even a time when Newman had a better opinion of Whately's orthodoxy than Whately of his. Very quickly, however, Newman made the discovery that Whately's turn of mind was negative and destructive; that logic was the one thing not to be found in his book on that subject, and that he could only lash the waters, without having his net ready to secure the fish. Yet in after years Newman felt he had to thank Whately for weaning him from the Erastian views of Church polity which he believed to have been part of his own original composition.

Up to 1826 Newman had held loyally to the ideal of Church and State as shown in Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*; but at this day he and all Oxford were greatly stirred by an anonymous pamphlet, generally ascribed to Whately, and never repudiated by him, to the effect that this was a double usurpation and a double injury.

In this year Newman became tutor of his college in place of Jelf, who was now tutor to Prince George of Cumberland. Lloyd, whose private theological lectures Newman had been attending, sent for him first, but finding him two years under the stipulated age, had to pass him over for Jelf. Few will now doubt that the latter was the better adapted for the purpose. It would, indeed, have been hard to find any one better adapted. Up to that date the undergraduates of Oriel had been equally divided between four tutors, each of whom stood in *loco parentis* to his own men, a score perhaps. The relation was variously understood, and variously carried out, but it was a tradition of the University that the office admitted of a large significance. Newman immediately let it be known that he was only too willing to give his pupils all the direction, advice, assistance, and actual instruction they might desire, and some half-dozen or more gladly availed themselves of the invitation. There ensued in most instances a lifelong friendship. Two younger tutors, as they succeeded to office, followed the example, and there was a time when the greater part of the College stood thus restored to what was really the original idea. Newman was soon after appointed a public examiner in *Lit. Hum.*, and for a year he was to be seen every day in High Street in the velvet-striped gown indicating a Pro-Proctor.

The year after Newman had taken his tutorship, Copleston was called to St. Paul's and Llandaff, and a new Provost had to be elected. No election has ever been more discussed; no choice ever more wondered at, perhaps unnecessarily. Keble had just presented himself as the Christian poet of the age, an age that had come to think the Christian faith incompatible with poetry. He was also a scholar of a high and then expiring class. He had been a tutor for some years, and his name was great in provincial circles. There was no doubt of his readiness to resume his Oxford residence. By the light of other times we all see that he and Newman were well-nigh brothers in theology. Why was he not elected as a matter of course? There was

another candidate, Tyler, recently appointed rector of St. Giles, a sound working scholar, and a good, hearty, honest man, who could get on well with everybody. The choice fell on Hawkins, and it has always been stated, without contradiction, that Newman turned the scale. We are not aware whether this has ever been stated as a fact by any one who could certainly know it. But it is hardly necessary to reopen the whole question, when the choice has really justified itself. There can be no doubt Dr. Hawkins was the better man for the almost unparalleled difficulties to be encountered. They required strong practical powers, perfect command of temper, strict impartiality, fondness for business, and knowledge of the world. In these and other points Hawkins was known to excel, while even his failings, it may be said, leant on virtue's side, for without a prompt, critical, and decisive style of expression and action, coupled with a reasonable jealousy of interference and tenacity of power, he could not have maintained his ground so long, and with so much credit. It has sometimes been said that he sought power at the cost of love, but it was a time of war, when love had not fair scope.

Very soon after his election there arose the "little cloud" which eventually deluged the land. The three tutors who were of one mind wished to remodel the whole system of tuition, both as to the men and as to the books. The new Provost took a defensive position, and was impracticable. He probably felt he would be nowhere in the College if he ever left the tuition entirely to the tutors. As they persisted, he announced that for the future no young men coming to the College would be entered in their names or assigned to them as pupils. As this would give him pupils without tutors, and none of the younger Fellows were immediately ready to accept office, the Provost took what was then the very extraordinary step of inviting Hampden, a married Fellow, with a family, taking private pupils in Oxford, to fill the gap. He complied, and walked into the College every morning to take his class, which done, he walked out again.

If the confederate Fellows were surprised, or if they even felt aggrieved, theirs was only the common case of those who, upon the inducement of some momentary advantage, drive an opponent to bay, without remembering the counsels of despair to which they are driving him. Hampden was a hard-working,

able, and conscientious man, after his light and his fashion, and was more than equal to the demands made on him. The three Fellows were checkmated, at least they gave up the game, and the Provost, before long, had the tuition wholly under his control and upon his own lines. On the other hand, upon becoming Provost, Hawkins had had to leave to Newman what proved, in his hands, the far more important and influential position of vicar of St. Mary's, including the parochial occupancy of the pulpit from which the University sermons were delivered. Hawkins himself had shown the use that could be made of it, for he always had full congregations, and they included many members of the University. This latter feature increased rapidly under Newman's preaching. His sermons became the staple of many a college conversation; admired by all, though here and there the objects of an indefinite suspicion.

His first public act was in a strictly Anglican direction. He was secretary of the Oxford branch of a religious society—the Church Missionary, we believe—of a liberal and comprehensive character. In this capacity he found himself allied with persons taking small account of Episcopal authority and organisation. He resigned the office and circulated a pamphlet explaining his reasons for so doing. About the same time he heartily responded to a call to protect the Church of England from attack, or, at least, from indignity, in another direction. The mode in which Catholic emancipation was suddenly forced on the Church, like the springing of a mine, set Oxford in a blaze; and when Peel placed his seat at the disposal of the University, the majority of Convocation were resolved that he should be taken at his word, and full use should be made of the opportunity. Looking down the Christ Church list they found in Sir R. H. Inglis an eminently genial, safe, and respectable representative. As a dispensation rather than a boon, Newman and his friends accepted the choice, and thenceforth Sir R. H. Inglis became the type of old Oxford.

The year 1831—that is, the year after the “July Revolution” at Paris—saw some great beginnings in this country. The Reform Bill was introduced into Parliament and battled over for a twelvemonth. Nothing else was read or thought about. There were those, however, who saw a rift in the political storm. Newman undertook to prepare for a theological “series” a handy volume on the Church Councils; and Blanco

White, on the same day and hour, undertook the "Inquisition." The subject was new to Newman, and overtaxed his time and strength. The compass of his thoughts and the range of his design expanded every day, and in that visit to the buried past he roused the ghost that ever pursued him, and finally drove him to seek shelter in Rome. The meaning of this statement, afterwards repeated at much greater length and in various forms, was that the study of the Fathers could no more lead to truth than the study of the Scriptures, without an infallible guide.

Newman simply lost himself in a task for which a lifetime had been insufficient. Laying his foundation deep in the centuries, and resolved to prejudge the question at issue, he does not arrive at the first Œcumenical Council till the 270th page. To the Council itself he gives six pages. He then wanders at large in a succession of biographical sketches and generally lamentable incidents, till, at page 416, he comes to the second Œcumenical Council, to which he gives four pages, and then closes the volume with a thundering anathema on the Papal Apostasy. Whether on Mr. Rivington's line or his own, whether as history or as theology, the work is an utter breakdown. Tone and style, however, carried the day. The work has only to be compared with any other history of theology, or of the Church, to account for its enthusiastic reception, and its effect on the rising movement. Such is the work generally, but incorrectly, known as the *History of the Arians*. Newman was now a "Select Preacher," and it was when he had just plunged out of his depth—indeed, out of all human depth—into anti-Nicene controversy that he made a great sensation by a University sermon on "Personal Influence, the means of propagating the Truth." In this he compared the continual transmission of the light of faith from age to age to the beacon fires described in a Greek play. If any one sermon is to be credited with the first start of the "Movement" it is this, preached 22nd January 1832.

After completing his task—or rather leaving it scarcely begun—Newman started with Froude on a tour of several months on the Mediterranean, seeing much and having many interesting experiences. It is evident that Newman, at least, if not Froude also, shrank from Rome, as from one whose charms were dangerous and well-nigh irresistible. It is not the ordinary

English tourist who avoids all religious ceremonies and functions, who will not be entrapped even into a momentary act of united worship, and who comes home with his mouth full of hot things against Rome. It is the man with much sympathy for that from which he violently recoils. Two men, however, the travellers saw and conversed with at Rome, and even liked, as far as can be seen, pretty equally. These were Bunsen and Wiseman. While Newman's heavier labours were necessarily suspended these six months, the outpourings of his heart were fresh and abundant at every stage of his wanderings. Most of his contributions to the *Lyra Apostolica*, including several pieces that have won a world-wide acceptance, were written at this time. Retracing his course alone from Rome to Sicily, for a more leisurely contemplation of its manifold beauties, Newman caught a fever, in which he was nursed by a monk, and the traces of which were still upon him when he returned home. It was not to the "sweet home" of song and story that he returned, for all the minds, all the pens, and all the tongues were there contending for the glory of regenerating this isle, and Newman came in, so to speak, on the top of a scramble. Hurrell Froude was before him, thundering and lightning, out-talking and out-doing everybody, but compelled soon to collapse within the dimensions of his frail earthly tenement. Strange as it may now seem, thus far, the event that most angered Newman and drove him into an irreconcilable course was the suppression of ten Irish bishoprics. A see once founded he believed to be indestructible.

Hugh James Rose was then the tallest, grandest, and, his contemporaries say, the most winning figure in the Church of England. Round him gathered A. P. Perceval, Froude, and another, at what came to be called the "Hadleigh Conference." After considering various suggestions, they agreed that something should be done, and that everybody was to do and say what he thought best, without inviting the criticism or expecting the agreement of the others. On this basis of a wide authorisation and personal liberty Newman at once proceeded to write and issue the *Tracts for the Times*, of which the first famous words were, "I am but one of you, a presbyter." At this distance of time it costs an effort to conceive how these simple and very off-hand productions should stir up a whole Church and rend it almost in twain. As a matter of fact they

did. Tract after tract was read, though they inculcated much that was impracticable, not to say impossible. Everything that came from Oxford was read. The Christian public wanted and waited, and could hardly be supplied quick enough. Even when the heat and stir of the movement had somewhat abated, it was found strong enough to give a wide circulation, and even a popularity, to bulky volumes on the distinctive doctrines of the Church of England, to endless "catenas," series, and "libraries."

As soon as Newman saw the vast superstructure of religious literature arising upon his first flaming tracts, he felt that the fire stood some chance of being stifled under its smoke, so he opened a new crater of his own in a succession of volumes of sermons preached at St. Mary's. Hitherto he had been rather shy about publishing sermons, but such scruples do not last long. Immediately all the world read his sermons, and few other. To educated men they still hold their ground, and may be said to have eclipsed and superseded all sermons of an earlier date, unless a man can gird his loins and prepare himself to read a sermon by Jeremy Taylor, or one of the few that Ken has left us. But the most ardent admirers of John Henry Newman must still admit a defect of fatal significance dimly observed fifty years ago, known by its fruits now. That defect it is needless to describe, were it even possible. These sermons have not reached the hearts and understanding of the masses, who, upon any theory, are the persons most to be considered, and for whom Divine ordinances and human institutions are most designed. We now see, and are not even surprised to see, that Newman has not carried the people of England with him; and when we look to his works we see that he was not likely to do so. However, in the three years following the first stir of the movement, its progress was rapid and brilliant.

Meanwhile the Provost of Oriel was loyal and constant to his friend in need, and the College now saw the influence and patronage which the usage of the University leaves to the Heads of Houses heaped upon the unwelcome intruder. Hampden realised and utilised his position, seeing within his grasp both an academic and a political harvest. He delivered the famous Bampton Lectures, which have yet to be read, understood, and fairly estimated. To make sure he translated some of his hieroglyphics into language which "they that run

can read," and if he did not propitiate Dissenters, he much troubled Church people. He was admitted into the then Sacred College of Heads of Houses as Principal of St. Mary's Hall. By the favour of his fast friend, he became Professor of Moral Philosophy.

The two antagonist leaders of thought were at close quarters. Hampden was lecturing and writing, Newman was preaching, writing, and talking, within a few yards of one another. Hampden had secured the Hall, Newman the Church, included in the foundation of the College. The latter had also the hamlet of Littlemore, three miles out of Oxford, the ancient nunnery of which was the true founder of St. Mary's, of Oriel College, and of a great part of the University. Here he built a church. Two such opposite personalities, acting, growing, developing side by side, within sight and hearing, could not but come into collision. The inevitable hour arrived in 1836, when Lord Melbourne recommended Hampden for the Chair of Theology vacated by Burton's premature death. The note of alarm had already been sounded in the metropolis, and most provincial centres, and now the worst had come to pass. The anti-liberal members of the University, in much haste, confusion, and prejudice, met and agreed on a proposal to meet the Premier—that is, the Crown—with a statute disabling the nominee of the Crown to the utmost in their power. The non-resident members of Convocation responded to the appeal, and after a temporary hitch, caused by a procuratorial veto, this violent and probably illegal resolution was carried, and the Crown deprived of more than half the substance of that which it had supposed itself able and entitled to confer. The notes of triumph were loud, and it was plain there was now a new power in the land. As to the measure itself, there was more insult in it than injury. The authorities took Hampden's side, and his friends had no reason to complain of exclusion from the University pulpit. When the opportunity arrived, they acted *as lawlessly as the other side had done*; if one Canon of Christ Church was not allowed a voice in the selection of preachers, another found himself excluded from the University pulpit.

But the greater the noise, the greater the disturbance, the greater the lawlessness, just in the same proportion was the growth of the "Oxford party." It was idle to fight about the occupation of the University pulpit, when not only that very

pulpit every Sunday afternoon, but some thousand other pulpits, were open to a party that courted persecution, and would have been disappointed had they not been paid in their own coin. The remembrance of that time suggests a terrible misgiving as to the true character of the centuries in which the magnificent fabric of Christian theology was elaborated and finally established. The present generation, that knows of the Cardinal chiefly in the comparatively quiet retreat of the Oratory and in the continual ovation everywhere and by almost all people accorded to his pre-eminent character, can be little aware of the inexhaustible energy and indefatigable industry with which he fought, what no doubt he believed the fight of faith. It would be exceeding the limits of our space to do common justice to his manifold labours. He was incessant in correspondence; he was always accessible to visitors; he kept journals and wrote *Mémoires Justificatives*; he read, translated, analysed, and abstracted; he wrote and delivered sermons of the most intense originality; he lectured, he kept account of his army of followers. Before the publication of the Tracts, he wrote letters to the *Record* newspaper, which he had helped to start, and which inserted his letters till he had taxed to the utmost its forbearance and its space.

Some years afterwards, upon the occasion of Sir R. Peel's delivering a "march of mind" address on the opening of Tamworth Reading Room, he wrote, with the signature of Catholicus, a series of letters in this journal, read with eager interest by many who never guessed the author, still less that he would one day be a member of the "Sacred College." He and his friends were large contributors to the *British Magazine*, which somehow came to an end in the conflict between the new and the old materials now to be found in it. All that is now remembered of either is the *Lyra Apostolica*, reprinted from its pages.

While still enjoying liberty of thought and of action, Newman "lectured" alike Romanists and Dissenters from St. Mary's. He preached and published six volumes of *Parochial Sermons* that have not yet lost their hold on the religious public, and that have been republished by an old and early friend within the last few years. In 1837 he published "Romanism and Popular Protestantism," or, to give the volume its full title, *Lectures on the Prophetic Office of the Church viewed relatively to*

these two systems. Were it true that a lady's meaning is to be found in the postscript, or that the best way to read a book is, as Whately once suggested, to begin at the end, then we might believe that Newman, at the above date, loved Rome as little as he did Arianism and Dissent. His work on *Justification* was either very right, or very wrong, for the Evangelical party at once pronounced that the author had confounded, or misplaced, justification and sanctification. A work on *Development in Matters of Doctrine*, though the theme has been since extensively enlarged upon, was a great shock to the fixed ideas and conservative instincts of English Churchmen. The *British Critic*, the old-established organ of the "High and Dry," now lay athwart the path of the movement. It was in the hands of an amiable and even brilliant writer seeking peace in a mid course. By successive encroachments, one involving another, Newman became editor, and for five or six years under his direction, or influence, the *British Critic* kept the Church of England in one long agony of surprise and alarm as to the results of its trenchant criticisms and reckless speculation. Though Rome was repeatedly the subject of an energetic protest, and the Church of England warned against her seductions, it was still felt that the underlying mass of feeling and of argument was moving towards her. In mathematics two lines can be for ever approaching without falling together, but it is not so when the heart is concerned, or when every day gives birth to new motives.

The *Tracts for the Times* pursued what can hardly be called their steady course. If some of them might kindly give repose, and even sleep, whenever Newman's pen took its turn all were roused from their tranquillity or their slumber. Taking the Bible in one hand and the Mediæval Church in the other, he would command his readers to accept both or neither. Culling from the indictments or the declarations of his antagonists their most felicitous and irresistible arguments, he would hurl them at the sacred object of their common reverence, the inspired Scriptures themselves—the only rule of faith. The stoutest Protestant ceased to throw stones when he found them falling on his own head. Reason itself, the old foe of authority, seemed now a renegade.

There still remained, however, a good many thousands in the land who could hold to the faith of their fathers, without the aid of reason or the pomp of a scientific theology.

The publications of the day were equally divided between the Tractarian and the anti-Tractarian writers. Learned clergymen, who but for the "Movement" would have read and dozed in their studies, produced heavy octavos. Religious novelists supplied lighter stuff. The Bishops were bound to make an appearance, and they did. All must have felt the father's yearnings for the son that only erred by excess of zeal—Bishop Bagot certainly did—but they had to stand by their own order and law. Some delivered censures at once unscientific and unmitigated. No historian describes the order of attack, for it told its tale in the result. At length No. 90 challenged the forbearance of the Church and University to the utmost, for had it been endured there was nothing that might not plead the example. At the invocation of "Four Tutors," one of them the late Primate, the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houses exercised that domestic authority with which they are armed for matters affecting the discipline of the undergraduate crowd. They pronounced a public censure of the Tract without waiting for a defence, and evidently without caring to know what the author might have to say for it. This seemed very harsh, and is still so thought by many. But power and authority cannot afford to be always logical.

Newman's case was the historical fact that the Thirty-nine Articles are older than the decrees of the Council of Trent, and were meant to be comprehensive. Accordingly, as he maintained, they only condemned certain popular abuses or excesses, and cannot be interpreted as in direct conflict with existing Roman Catholic doctrine. This was a question which neither Oxford, nor the Bench of Bishops, nor the people of England were willing to entertain. Newman bowed to the censure, and perhaps felt it a deliverance. He professed to be always guided by circumstances. It was for the Church of England, not himself, to pronounce it no longer Catholic. The *Tracts for the Times*, which had now attained to the bulk of five octavo volumes, and which, in the original editions, are now hardly to be got at any price, were stopped. This, however, only created a new position, with new opportunities, which Newman was quick to discover. Rome had as yet made few or no converts. The Tracts taught that Christians had all they wanted in the Anglican Communion. Deny this, and you drive them to Rome. The sequel seemed to bear this out. At the very time

that the scheme of comprehension propounded in No. 90 was formally condemned, there was suddenly started another scheme of comprehension in the Jerusalem bishopric, aiming to combine in one communion Anglicans and German Protestants. Against this Newman made a solemn public protest, to which his own position now gave the greater influence and authority.

Newman held on for a time at St. Mary's, and then, step by step, withdrew to Littlemore, where he finally ensconced himself with a small band of faithful adherents.

The end of one question was now the beginning of another. Was a new Anglican Church to rise on this spot of mysterious and immemorial sanctity? Had the nuns of Littlemore, the true founders of half the University, been heard to invoke *nostris ex ossibus ultor* to avenge their wrongs? A great University was thrown into alternative paroxysms of curiosity and terror by a new neighbour, somewhat resembling the *epipolis* thrown up for the occasion by a besieging host. Was this to be a new Oxford? Fate has otherwise ordered. Littlemore is now best known for its county lunatic asylum, while a couple of miles off the military centre has transformed the neighbouring plain into a gay and busy suburb. What has been called the crash of the party had now begun. "Ideal Ward," as he came to be called, from the most irreconcilable of his many utterances, provoked his fate with an impetuosity that could not be resisted, and he was finally stripped of his degrees and consequently of his Fellowship, by an assembled University, only to appear at the altar of the English Church with a beautiful young bride a few weeks after. By a happy intervention the University was saved the disgrace of an ill-considered sentence on Newman's own work, as had been proposed. Nor was there occasion for such a step. A few months afterwards, Newman sent for a foreign monk of the Order of St. Dominic, and through him submitted to the Church of Rome.

As the greater part of the English public had long been expecting the news, and could not understand a position between two rival and antagonistic Churches, nobody now asked what had finally decided Newman. It was his way, however, to assign to every act its own proper occasion and motive, and it is stated that an article by Dr. Wiseman on the Donatists turned the scale. This would imply that the chief obstacle in Newman's mind, up to this time, had been the moral scandals affecting the

Church of Rome, alike priests and people. These the Donatists, who were the Protestants of their day, held to vitiate orders, nullify ordinances, and destroy authority. But Newman had no need to go to the pages of the *Dublin Review* to learn that a mixture of good and bad is a universal condition of human life. Calumny itself was silenced by the very act that might be accepted as its justification. Before this, controversialists had freely charged Newman with a secret intention. In after years Newman was frequently consulted by young people "on the move," but not prepared to face the difficulties of a decision. He uniformly counselled against concealment and reserve, or any course that would be one thing to the actor, another to the world.

From that hour the Church of England has regarded Newman at an increasing distance, but with an increasing favour. Yet it has been but a cold and profitless regard; a just pride and a high admiration, but little more. As a nation and a race we now boast to have contributed to Rome one of her greatest minds and one of her best men. Yet we do not follow. The captain has led the way, but the column lags behind. The following has been almost wholly confined to the educated and refined, to the classes to whom religion is a luxury, an amusement, an agreeable relief from the frivolities and vulgarities of the hour. Several thousand have thus accompanied Newman, not into the wilderness, but into magnificent churches, and into well-furnished and well-frequented drawing-rooms. But that multitude which responded to the Gospel-call on the shores of Genesaret holds aloof and hears not the voice of a shepherd. The wise and prudent are many in the crowd that has left us, but of the babes there are none. As soon as he had crossed the Rubicon, Newman, like the conquered kings of antiquity, had to show himself at Rome. He appears to have wished to remain and study there, but he was sent back to work on the English masses, if haply he could break or soften them.

The Pope then, or soon after, gave Newman the degree of D.D., and it is a remarkable fact that this addition to his name had the effect of raising the degree in English estimation. Up to that date any aspirant for the merely nominal honour was credited with sheer vanity, or some pecuniary motive, and any one of high standing would much rather be called Canon than D.D. Englishmen are no longer ashamed of a title which places them next to saints in the Celestial Hierarchy.

Newman must himself have suggested Birmingham, for it was one of Froude's ideas, possibly because to an Oxford man the most repulsive and self-denying that could be imagined. There Newman founded the Oratory ; a society, not an order—and under a comprehensive engagement to do all kinds of duty and kindness to all sorts of people, at all times, and as much as possible in all places. Another branch, we presume, was founded in King William Street, Strand ; and more recently the one magnificently housed in Brompton Road, and for a long time under Father Faber. There could not be a stronger test of sincerity, or a higher proof of devotion, than for a great theologian and scholar to resign Oxford and Littlemore, and bury himself in the throng, smoke, and din of a great manufacturing centre. Newman retained his hold on the place ever after, though he did not reside there constantly.

In the year 1851 he accepted the Rectorship of the Catholic University at Dublin, and persevered through the manifold and growing difficulties of that position six or seven years. The Irish never get on well under Englishmen, and Newman is said to have found his position neither easy nor always agreeable under a board of management consisting of his superiors in rank and authority, if not always in other respects. At one time there went round a story that, in order to save his dignity, and enable him to take his due share in the management, he was to be made a Bishop *in partibus* ; but this was not done. Newman did his best during his brief sojourn to educate the Irish mind up to his idea of a University, and he made some attached friends, but upon the whole he thought it best to leave Ireland to the Irish. One old friendship he found to be lost beyond recovery. After some ineffectual attempts at mutual civility, he and Archbishop Whately found it more convenient to pass without recognition, painful as it might be to both of them.

The Irish failure, as it might be called, was a great disappointment, for the turn of Newman's mind was always rather academic than ecclesiastical. From the time of his "conversion" to Rome, at least from the date of his visit to the Holy See, he earnestly desired to see a Roman Catholic College at Oxford, no doubt under his presidency. For this he worked, canvassed, and obtained flattering assurances, but in vain. A party of his own friends at home, headed by Ward, continually counteracted his efforts, and whether they were right from a

Roman point of view it is not easy or necessary to say. But it was the disappointment that most preyed on Newman's mind, and that extorted from him some rather hard sayings upon the Italian notions of veracity, to which he preferred the English.

Returning to Birmingham, Newman found no difficulty in winning the love, if not the obedience, of a population specially addicted to having a way of its own, and to take that way. No doubt they were proud to have so great a man among them. But a residence in the provinces is a sort of banishment, even if it be accompanied with important work ; and Newman's retirement to Birmingham has been regarded by the public generally much as his retreat from Oxford to Littlemore. He established a school for Catholic noblemen and gentlemen, and his pupils have succeeded in due time to their hereditary positions ; but it can hardly be said that any have brought with them the traces of a great teacher. They are "good Catholics," and no more. He has published sermons, lectures, treatises, and theological works, but they have not penetrated into the Church of England, not at least beyond a circle of devoted admirers. His lectures on "Anglican Difficulties" may have helped to unsettle some hundred clergymen. His lectures on the office and work of Universities would seem to have had no other result than further to liberalise Oxford and Cambridge, and provoke the godly jealousy of the Congregationalists. His history of the Turks, on the spur of a sudden occasion, is an amazing feat, but as a contribution to the politics of the day is far too much on the "bag and baggage" line.

It is not every great author who will venture to write tales. Newman did. His *Callista* and his *Loss and Gain* were received with great interest, necessarily confined to those who feel dogmatic truth the supreme object of inquiry. The *Grammar of Assent*, which is said to contain some wonderful passages and to develop the principles of No. 90, and some other tracts were written ; but the mass of ore out of which the precious metal is to be extracted is immense. Newman often overtaxed the time and patience, as well as the subtlety, of his readers, and, like some other great men, he may be found in after-times buried under the pile of his own works, or represented by one small volume or two out of half a hundred.

On several occasions was Newman dragged out of his provincial

obscurity. • In 1851, in the course of some lectures given at Birmingham, he delivered a tremendous philippic against one Achilli, an Italian monk, who had been driven out of Italy and his Church, and was now declaiming against them, much to the delight of our Protestant gentlemen and ladies. The man had now to fight for dear life, and he had friends. They brought an action for libel against Newman, and, as he also had friends, he brought over a host of witnesses. There was no doubt as to the libel, and the truth of the libel was no defence. Newman was fined £100, but the expenses were many thousands, and they were cheerfully subscribed for him. The only result of the action has been to write on the roll of history a character and career which Englishmen will henceforth be apt to associate with mountebanks of Achilli's description.

In January 1864 Kingsley, under some unaccountable, perhaps quite momentary, impulse, writing for a magazine, charged Newman with teaching that truth need not be a virtue to the Catholic clergy, and, indeed, ought not to be; that cunning is the proper weapon of the saints; and that, whether this notion be doctrinally correct or not, it is historically true. Newman at once demanded a justification of this libel, which Kingsley found himself unable to produce. Instead of proofs he went into generalities, into which Newman followed him. After a long stage of personalities, as they must be called, happily the assailed party changed his key and ascended into the most interesting of all his writings, and the one which put him once more in accord with the English public.

The *Apologia* is a household word in this country: nor is the interest of it diminished by the fact that it is the history of a mind rather than of a course of events; and that it is the inner life of one man without much attempt to enter into other personal experiences. It is Newman, and very little more. Even Hamlet, monopolist as he is, leaves more room and more honour to inferior personages. But, whatever the faults, if faults they be, the *Apologia* will ever hold its ground in English literature. At the time of the "Œcumenical Council" Newman was said to be adverse to an authoritative definition of Papal infallibility. His objections were so delicately and mildly expressed that to an ordinary English eye they looked more like a pious performance necessary to the idea of a discussion than a real opinion. Indeed, most Englishmen will think it a matter of indifference

how infallibility is defined, one definition in an impossible matter being as good as another. It must be considered, however, that Newman's whole life had been one long controversy, and where there is no beginning there is likely to be no end. A definition, if it be worth anything, must preclude some alternatives, and so far stop discussion. But, as there were said to be more than sixty distinct definitions of Papal infallibility before the year 1870, it can hardly be supposed that one more will make a material difference. The Vatican Council was a grand and imposing demonstration, and as such it has told on the open field of human affairs.

Eleven years ago a great omission was repaired, a great inequality removed. So high was the regard that England had for Newman, on whatever grounds, that it felt really aggrieved at what seemed to be the denial of a Cardinal's hat. Englishmen are apt to talk and write on stilts, so to speak, and in this vein they do not take much account of Cardinals. But nature will come out. We have all been children in our time, and the child never wholly departs from our nature. So all England was delighted when Newman went to Rome, which, at his age and in his infirm health, was a service of danger, and came back with his long-due decorations. Already his own first college at Oxford had been proud to restore his name to its books and to raise him from a scholar to an Honorary Fellow. Fastidious critics observed that he had left Oxford a believer and returned to it in the guise of a liberal; the change, however, was in the University, not in himself; and in this country we give everybody license to avail himself freely of its varying and not entirely consistent opportunities. Things must be done by hook or by crook, or not at all. Yet it is an amazing sign of the times that a Cardinal should head the list of names in an Oxford college. A few months after Newman acknowledged this compliment by a visit to Oxford, where he was entertained by Trinity College. The chief feature of the visit was a call on Dr. Pusey, for a long interchange of guarded sympathies and old memories. Two years after he paid Oxford a second visit, for a large garden party at his college, and to preach a sermon at the new Roman Catholic Chapel.

Newman never lost a friend if he could help it, and always took care that it was not he that cut the sacred tie, as he deemed it. About this date he travelled into the western counties,

seeing old friends in the way, and full of old thoughts and feelings. On this occasion he had to seek in vain for an admission to Exeter Cathedral at an hour when he had fair reason to expect it would be open to strangers, as the Continental churches are. Oddly enough, the single reason of his exclusion was that the cathedral authorities, with a large party of invited friends and partisans, were engaged in a discussion upon the unhappy reredos, which proved a bone of contention between Bishop Temple and the Chapter. At Edgbaston he was always most easy of access, and ready to see an old friend, or a stranger, even to the interruption of some important work, or of the brief mid-day repose. When much pressed, or worn, he retired for a short holiday to a cottage at Rednal, on the Lickey Hills, a few miles from Birmingham.

Now, for many years, all Englishmen have vied in rendering the proper homage, whatever it might be, or whatever its worth, to the most conspicuous and interesting name in our theological or literary annals. Unless it be on some rare occasions and instances, Newman was singularly free from the weaknesses and misfortunes that so often make polemics a plague and literature a grief. There are great and even good men who repel sympathy, and even forfeit it; Newman could not do either. With all his faults—for all have faults—England has loved him still.

The truth is we are a nation of hero-worshippers, sometimes to the extent of holding one hero as good as another, though they may have considerable differences to settle between themselves. Such feelings, often the suggestions of the hour, have to stand the severer test of years to come. Will even the next generation read Newman's now voluminous works? Will it enter upon a course the termination of which is already historical? Every work of man is measured by its results. The narrow range of human power and opportunity has to be taken into account. Near home, on this very spot, we have frequent and melancholy experiences of the fate that may await the fruits of industry and genius. As one hour succeeds another, important matter has to give way to the latest arrival, and has to be first minished, and then, perhaps, finally squeezed out of our columns. Enter any good old-fashioned library that has had the rare luck to escape fire, the auction-room, and the waste-paper store. In long rows are the works of the twenty or thirty

great divines, the delight and the support of their respective generations. Of most of these good men, so great in their day, it is now rare to find anybody who has read even a page, or can so much as say what manner of men they were, or what were their distinctive opinions, or where they preached or wrote, or where they lived and died. Over every library, even such as those now annually scattered, volume by volume, over all lands, may be written the warning not to work for posterity, but for the present day, and for those that share it with us.

LEADING ARTICLE, TUESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1890

A great man has passed away; a great link with the past has been broken. Yesterday, after a very short illness, Cardinal Newman died at the Oratory, Edglaston. Thus enviably closes a most noteworthy life; a life that in itself sums up in the best and most attractive way one side of the religious life of the century. At ninety years of age, full of years, full of honour but not of honours, in the obscurity of his almost private home, the great man receives the last summons and quietly obeys. A most interesting chapter of our history closes with his death, and a life that bears strange testimony to the permanence of certain types in human nature becomes a part of the past. Once more the world is reminded of the degree in which respect and love still attach to the saintly life, when it is coupled with one or another kind of intellectual leadership.

Cardinal Newman is literally the last of his generation. Many of his old friends and colleagues he has long survived; others have but lately passed away; but he, to all appearance the most fragile of all, has remained till now. It is nearly fifty years since Arnold died; Whately has been gone twenty-seven years; Keble died twenty-four years ago, Pusey eight, and Hawkins and "Ideal" Ward at the same distance of time. The men who followed Newman in his passage across the Roman Rubicon have almost all predeceased him. He has remained, looking out from those mysterious eyes of his upon a world that has changed enormously since the days of the Tractarians, and changed, it must be feared, in ways that he often liked but little. He liked them less, perhaps he understood them less, than the eminent foreign contemporary with whom one naturally compares him, Dr. Dollinger. Far more learned than Newman, far

more active, endowed with more physical vigour and a greater force of will, Dollinger never stood aside, like the great English dialectician, from the course of affairs. The one, therefore, is the more interesting as an example of intellectual energy and critical alertness ; the other, as a poet, a mystic, and as a thrice-refined example of the unworldly life.

We publish on another page a full account of Dr. Newman's career, from its beginning in the earliest years of the century. For much of it he is himself, in his famous *Apologia*, the chief authority ; since he may be said to have lived no other life than the religious life, the life in constant and conscious communication with the Unseen, that he there describes. His history is the history of religious opinions, and of actions based on them. We trace the workings of his mind as he passes out of the Evangelicalism of his boyhood—an effective school for the religious emotions—into the historical and logical stage from which grew the *Tracts for the Times*. The story of this central moment of the modern religious history of England is always fascinating, and to those who have any personal links with the Oxford of that day it still has a curious and a powerful interest. It has to be told over again from the point of view of each actor in it—of Keble first, then of Pusey, lately, in a much-read book, of William George Ward, and now of Newman, the chief of the band, the head and front of the offending. And yet, from the standpoint of to-day, how incredibly remote it all seems ! It divided educated England into two hostile camps ; it filled the English world with the noise and the smoke of controversy ; it led a grave University into a number of scandalously intolerant acts ; it ended by threatening the disruption of the Church of England. The controversy was professedly historical. Yet of history, in the modern scientific sense, there was very little in it ; and neither side seemed to suspect that behind the question whether the Fathers thought and wrote so-and-so lay the question of the grounds on which the Fathers formed their opinions. But sufficient for each age are the controversies thereof.

In 1840, or thereabouts, the question which concerned the religious mind of England was the question whether what was called “Catholic Truth” was attainable within the Church of England or not. We know the way in which Newman decided it, in his converse with Pusey and others, in his published

writings, and in the almost cloistral solitude of Littlemore. He would have rejoiced to carry a greater following with him, but that was not essential. His own path seemed marked out to him and he took it, leaving many friends behind him—leaving Pusey to become gradually the head of a great Anglican community, to the outside spectator scarcely distinguishable from the Roman, and yet separated from it, if we are to believe its spokesmen, by the most vital differences; and leaving Pattison to go his solitary way in the pursuit of pure knowledge entirely unfettered by formulas or creeds. From the moment of that great step Newman became, to the bulk of English people, a mere memory. Oxford long retained the tradition of his wonderful personality; of the charm of his character, of the pure beauty of his style. But he passed out of the life of the place and of the many who had read and admired him. Fifteen years or more passed by till the world heard of him again, when the *Apologia* was published. The cause seemed a mere accident: a chance phrase of a man who was not given to measuring his words. One does not need to be a Roman Catholic to appreciate the thoroughness of the punishment which Kingsley received from his veteran antagonist. The amateur had challenged the old swordsman; and he became as a child in his hands.

And yet the *Apologia* is not an altogether pleasant book to read, if one wishes to keep fresh the old belief in Dr. Newman as a sort of angelic doctor of the nineteenth century—a saint, who is at the same time a master of dialectic. Perhaps an *Apologia* must always be somewhat painful; at all events this one is, from the air of absolute certainty that pervades it, and, shall we say, from the evidences of nothing short of superstition with which it abounds. These things, however, are the almost invariable marks of religious biographies, whether the subject be a Wesley or a Newman. Men like this are better than their biographies. Newman certainly was, as every one who knew him will maintain, especially the survivors of those old Oxford days when he held congregations spell-bound in St. Mary's, and threw over companionship a charm which was scarcely of this world. The worst of such a charm as this is that it is evanescent; that it depends on the memory of a generation. Will Newman's survive in the estimation of his country? Will his books maintain it? That is a question which may be asked to-day, but which the future only can answer. Of one thing

we may be sure, that the memory of his pure and noble life, untouched by worldliness, unsoured by any trace of fanaticism, will endure, and that whether Rome canonises him or not he will be canonised in the thoughts of pious people of many creeds in England. The saint and the poet in him will survive. "Lead, kindly Light" is already something better than a classic; the life at Littlemore and at Edgbaston will engrave itself deep into the memory of all to whom religion and lofty human character are dear.

CANON LIDDON

OBITUARY NOTICE, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1890

WE deeply regret to announce the death of Canon Liddon. With him the Church of England loses her foremost preacher, and the High Church party its most powerful champion.

Henry Parry Liddon was born at Taunton in 1829, and had, therefore, barely completed his sixty-first year at the time of his death. He received his early education at King's College School, then a young institution, founded, as will be remembered, on Church of England principles; and in or about 1847 he was nominated a student of Christ Church. Those who recollect him as an undergraduate speak of him as having been already keenly interested in religion, and as having professed himself a loyal follower of the Tractarian leaders—men whose influence, though it had been momentarily checked by the secession of Newman, was still very considerable. The young student of Christ Church was especially brought in contact with Pusey, and also, away from Oxford, with the gentle personality of one whom he afterwards described as “the best and wisest man whom he had ever known intimately in life”—John Keble.

Meantime he read for the schools; but by some accident, though he was a good scholar and a keen logician, he only obtained a second class in the examination for his degree (1850). In the next year, however, he obtained a University distinction, the Johnson Theological Scholarship, and he was in due time confirmed in his studentship. He was ordained deacon by Bishop Wilberforce in 1852; and there are still those who remember the keen interest with which, in the intervals of the examination, he discussed theological questions in the garden of

Cuddesdon Palace. He was at this time, indeed, studying not only the matter but the form ; and already he had laid to heart the lessons of that great school of ecclesiastical preaching, as distinguished from the popular preaching of Protestantism, which had never died out in France from the days of Massillon and Bourdaloue to the days of Lacordaire. Of the last-named, Liddon always professed himself a devoted admirer ; but it was rather on the school than on any single member of it that he formed his own well-defined and most impressive style. But his early work as a clergyman did not lie much, or at least exclusively, in the direction of preaching. In 1854 he was appointed Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon College, then recently founded by Bishop Wilberforce as a nursery of young clergy ; and it may truly be said that the influence of Liddon, during the five years that he held the post, had much to do with fixing the character of the college and determining its success.

A very important epoch in Liddon's life was his appointment as examining chaplain to the then Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Walter Ker Hamilton, a man of saintly life, and a pronounced High Churchman. He was one of the three men who most influenced the life and thought of Liddon, the other two being Keble and Pusey. Not even Samuel Wilberforce, during the years at Cuddesdon, was so much to the young ecclesiastic as was the Bishop of Salisbury, of whom he wrote, at the time of the Bishop's death, a touching memoir. In 1864 Bishop Hamilton appointed Liddon to the Prebend of Major Pars Altaris in Salisbury Cathedral. By this time his fame as a preacher was beginning to spread, and when, in 1863, he was for the first time appointed Select Preacher to the University of Oxford, St. Mary's was soon crowded. Already the voice, the manner, and the style were there which have since that date charmed so many scores of thousands of hearers ; but at that time all was new except to those who, in some foreign church, had chanced to hear a Dominican brother. The sympathetic tones, the subtle, insinuating argument, the rhetorical artifice, concealed behind extreme simplicity of language ; the dogmatic certainty of the preacher's central positions ; above all, the fervour of his own personal persuasion, making itself felt through physical exertion that was plainly too severe for him—these things at once made it apparent that a new great preacher had come before the world.

Accordingly, when it was announced that Prebendary Liddon

was to be the Bampton Lecturer for 1866 the interest of the announcement was felt far beyond the limits of the University. The subject chosen showed the preacher's courage ; it was nothing less central, nothing less vast, than "The Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." This is not the place to criticise these celebrated lectures, or even to follow their argument. Enough to say that they were an elaborate attempt to meet modern criticism on its own ground ; to answer Strauss and Baur and Renan, and *par parenthèse* to prove to the Broad Church party in the English Church that reason was not on their side. The lectures showed no little learning ; as printed, with a full apparatus of notes, they show a great deal ; but their real strength lay in the skill with which the orthodox case was presented, the weak points in the opponents' case laid bare, and the religious feelings and hopes of Christians appealed to. From the time of the delivery and publication of the Bampton Lectures there was no doubt whatever that, among the more scholarly and controversial preachers of the Church of England, Liddon had taken the leading place.

In the year of the Bampton Lectures, Mr. Liddon was chosen as a member of the Hebdomadal Council at Oxford ; and this position he held for three "turns" of three years each, till 1875. He was at the time, as the election implied, resident in Oxford ; and his nomination may be said to have signalised the fact that he was regarded, and consented to be regarded, as one of the active leaders of the Church party in the University. He filled in University politics the anomalous position of one who, though a Liberal in the politics of the country, held tenaciously to the old lines, especially on such points as the retention of Greek, and, until 1871, the retention of religious tests. He acted, in fact, with Dr. Pusey, whose lieutenant he really was ; and on all such matters as the founding and organisation of the Theological Honour School, he naturally represented the clerical claims in their extreme form. In 1870 he accepted the appointment to Dean Ireland's Professorship of Exegesis, and it need not be said that his lectures, during the twelve years that he held the post, were crowded, not only by candidates for orders, but by others. It can hardly be said that his influence in Oxford, outside the lecture room, the Council, and the University pulpit, was quite as great as that of some of his contemporaries. Probably his colleague Dr. King, the present Bishop of Lincoln,

had more direct personal influence upon the characters of young High Churchmen.

In 1870 Liddon was appointed Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, and about the same time was made D.D. and Hon. D.C.L. The partial removal to London which the canonry implied brought his person, his voice, and his work before the notice of thousands of those to whom he had till then been a mere name. His first systematic appearance in London, however, was not at St. Paul's, but as Lent Lecturer at St. James's, Piccadilly, where he delivered to thronged congregations the sermons which have since become so generally known under the title of *Some Elements of Religion*. These, and, still more, the sermons preached during his annual residence at St. Paul's, differed in many respects from the sermons preached at Oxford. Like a true orator, Dr. Liddon had a ready perception of the character of his audience. At Oxford he was didactic, dialectical, even learned on occasion. In London, though the religious basis was the same, his aim was to be above all things simple, clear, and consistent.

It has been said by an experienced observer that Dr. Liddon at St. Paul's offered an almost unique example of a preacher who habitually held the close attention of a middle-class audience for an hour at a time, by sermons each of which was a consecutive argument. The argument may not have been complicated; the premisses were generally familiar; but to follow the discourse at all implied steady attention, and this the vast audiences beneath the dome were always ready to give. It must, however, be admitted that the necessity of preaching to congregations so large and so mixed had an injurious effect on Dr. Liddon's style. The physical exertion was more than he could stand; the necessity of repeating old arguments, the absence of criticism, and the various other conditions of the case tended to lower the extraordinarily high level to which he had attained at Oxford and in Piccadilly. But what man of any generation could continue to preach freshly and without loss of power to congregations like those for twenty years?

In two ways Dr. Liddon took an active part in the public affairs of his time. He was, as we have said, a Liberal in general politics, or it would be more correct to say that he was a follower of Mr. Gladstone in most of the courses which that statesman has pursued. Especially did he follow, or perhaps

help to lead, Mr. Gladstone in the anti-Turkish campaign of 1876-78. Dr. Liddon, as a High Anglican, was full of sympathy for the Greek Christians, and espoused their cause against the Turks with all the energy of which he was capable. He visited Servia and the neighbouring countries, and the controversy is still remembered which he and Canon MacColl kept up in these columns against many opponents as to the impalement of a Christian by Turks, of which they declared themselves to have been eye-witnesses. Some years before this Dr. Liddon had shown equally strong sympathy with another body of persecuted Christians, the Old Catholics, of whose Congress at Bonn in 1874, he drew up, or edited, an interesting report.

But these instances of his intervention in public affairs were less important than his frequent interventions when the interests of the Church of England were, as he thought, directly attacked, as by the Church Discipline Act of 1874, by the Purchas judgment, and other examples of what, in the title of a little volume, he called *Troubles of the Church*. He entirely disliked, denounced, and repudiated the supreme authority of the Judicial Committee. In a "letter to Sir John Taylor Coleridge" (1871) he vigorously attacked the Purchas judgment, and frankly told the judges that a large body of the clergy would meet it with passive resistance. In the preface to the sermons just referred to, he declares that the decisions of such a tribunal "will always be respectfully considered as the work of trained minds of the highest ability," but will not "command the submission which is due from a Christian conscience" to the spiritual heads of the Church. The logical outcome of such a position is, of course, to accept disestablishment; and, as to this, his opinion was clear. In the same preface (1881) he wrote, "Few, if any, Churchmen desire to see the Church disestablished and disendowed; but, if it be a question whether it is better to be turned out of house and home without any clothes, and even on a winter's night, or to be strangled by a silken cord in a well-furnished drawing-room, what man or church can have any difficulty in arriving at a decision?"

For several years past Dr. Liddon has been engaged upon what he hoped and believed would prove the great work of his life, the biography of his friend and master, Dr. Pusey. It was to this constant engagement, as much as to any other cause, that we must attribute his refusal of all Church preferment

But the "Life" has not been concluded, and it is not known in what state it has been left. It may, however, be assumed that Dr. Liddon, a most methodical worker, and one endowed with the valuable gift of a good handwriting, has left his papers in order, ready to be taken up by some faithful successor. It should be added that Dr. Liddon was largely instrumental in founding the two institutions at Oxford which are named after Keble and Pusey ; and to the end he was equally interested in the College and the House. But, of the remarkable literary outcome of the Pusey House which this year has seen—the book called *Lux Mundi*—he did not approve ; he thought it too great a concession to modern criticism ; and he viewed its publication and success with no little pain. Like Plato and Luther, he found himself, before his death, outrun by his pupils.

Though Dr. Liddon did not mix very much in society, his social gifts were very considerable. His manners were exquisitely courteous ; he could tell a story to perfection ; and he had a keen sense of humour. His weak health, however, and perhaps a growing dissatisfaction with the position and prospects of his beloved Church, kept him more and more in retirement, from which he only emerged for the performance of his great public duties.

PROFESSOR J. E. THOROLD ROGERS

OBITUARY NOTICE, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1890

WE regret to announce the death of Mr. Thorold Rogers, the well-known Professor of Political Economy at Oxford, which occurred on Sunday night, somewhat suddenly perhaps, but not altogether unexpectedly, at his residence at Oxford. Hardly any man of his time has been better known or more conspicuous in Oxford for the last thirty or forty years than Professor Rogers. His personality was at once impressive and aggressive, and even those to whom it was least congenial were fain to acknowledge his peculiar qualities and gifts. He was educated at King's College, in London, and matriculated in due course at Magdalen Hall, a society which at that time was not remarkable for academical distinction, though Jacobson, afterwards Regius Professor of Divinity and Bishop of Chester, had been its vice-principal, and Machride, a lay divine of high Evangelical repute, was and remained for long afterwards its principal. Rogers obtained a first class in classics under the old system in 1846, and might well have looked forward to a distinguished academical career. But open Fellowships were rare in the days before the first University Commission, and Rogers never obtained one. The circumstance may perhaps account for the bitterness with which in after years he was wont to attack the University system, though it must be acknowledged that his criticisms were occasionally just as well as pointed.

After taking his degree Rogers took holy orders, and for some years in early manhood was either curate or incumbent of Headington Quarry, a poor and somewhat neglected district in the neighbourhood of Oxford. But the bent of his mind

and temperament was decidedly anti-clerical, and though he still retained the title of reverend for several years he subsequently relinquished it, having been largely instrumental in procuring the passing of the statute whereby clerks in holy orders are now enabled to divest themselves of the disabilities attaching to the sacred office. He married early and settled in Oxford, taking private pupils in large numbers, occasionally examining in the schools, devoting himself to literary pursuits, and gradually taking a large share in the administrative business of the University—he used often to declare that he was the largest holder of unpaid offices in Oxford and to contrast himself in that respect with the more fortunate holders of comfortable sinecures. His reading was wide and varied, including a vast range of classical and modern literature, but his scholarship was discursive rather than profound, and perhaps somewhat deficient in accuracy. It was one of the disappointments of his life that the Delegates of the Clarendon Press declined many years ago to undertake the publication of an Aristotelian dictionary which he had prepared with much labour and erudition.

In 1862 he became a candidate for the Professorship of Political Economy founded by Henry Drummond, and vacated at that time by the retirement of Charles Neate, sometime Fellow of Oriel and M.P. for the city of Oxford. The Chair was at that time tenable for five years, but the Professor was re-eligible, the election being vested in the Convocation of the University. Rogers, though a noted Liberal and a friend of Bright and Colclen, with the latter of whom he was connected by marriage, had not at that time become notorious and obnoxious in certain quarters as a Radical politician, and he was elected without difficulty. He devoted himself with characteristic energy to the duties of his office, and his studies thenceforth took that distinctively economical turn which resulted some years afterwards in the publication of his well-known *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*—a learned and elaborate work founded largely on his own personal examination of the accounts of several of the colleges of Oxford, especially those of Merton College. He was a stimulating and suggestive lecturer, interspersing his graver disquisitions with many a racy anecdote, not always of a strictly academical type. But his labours in the Chair of Political Economy were not destined to be continued without intermission. When the time came for his re-election

in 1868 an opposition was raised in circumstances which we described as follows in recording the death of Professor Bonamy Price in 1888 :

"The Chair had been held for the previous five years by Mr. Thorold Rogers, and Mr. Rogers offered himself for re-election. He had, however, made himself highly unpopular with the Conservative majority of Convocation, and especially with its leaders in Oxford, by his extreme political opinions and his not too discreet expression of them. The contest was accordingly waged, not so much by the candidates themselves as by their respective supporters, on purely party grounds. In special qualifications for the duties of the Chair the two candidates were not unequal, and no attempt was made by his opponents to impugn the fidelity, industry, and ability with which Mr. Rogers had discharged those duties. Both were Liberals in politics, but Mr. Price, though at one time an advanced Liberal, was now inclining towards the right wing of his party, while Mr. Rogers was regarded by his opponents as an extreme, and even dangerous, Radical. An active canvass was conducted, less in favour of Mr. Price than in opposition to Mr. Rogers, and political animosities of that peculiar type which characterised Convocation and inspired its local leaders in those days were enlisted on behalf of Mr. Rogers's opponent. The result was a foregone conclusion. Mr. Price was elected by a large majority, the University obtained an excellent professor, and Mr. Rogers was duly punished for his political opinions."

The only effect on Rogers was to intensify his Radical sympathies and to leave him more unmuzzled than ever in the expression of his political opinions. He began to take a more active part in politics, and in 1874 he was an unsuccessful candidate for Scarborough. In the general election of 1880 he was returned for Southwark as a colleague of Mr. Arthur Cohen, Q.C., and he represented that borough until it was divided by the Redistribution of Seats Act, when he became a candidate for Bermondsey and was returned for that division in the general election of 1885. But in 1886, having declared himself in favour of the Gladstonian policy for Ireland, he was defeated by the present Conservative member, Mr. Lafone.

It is unnecessary, and would not be very profitable for us to follow Mr. Rogers's Parliamentary career in detail. He will be remembered not as a politician—for in this capacity he pre-

sented the more aggressive and least temperate side of his character to the public gaze—but as a man of letters, a student, and a diligent, thoughtful, and suggestive compiler of economical data and statistics. On the death of Mr. Bonamy Price, with whom after some few years of estrangement his personal relations had become cordial and friendly, he was re-elected to the Chair of Political Economy, from which he had been somewhat unceremoniously ousted twenty years before. The election had now been transferred to a Board of which Lord Salisbury, as Chancellor of the University, and Mr. Goschen, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, were members, and it was generally believed at the time that both statesmen, forgetting political differences, and recognising the value of Rogers's economical researches, concurred in his nomination. For the last year or two it was evident to his friends that his health was seriously impaired, and his death, though somewhat premature, for he was by no means as old as he looked, can hardly have come as a surprise to those who observed his rapidly aging figure and the decay of his once inexhaustible vivacity.

Professor Rogers's contributions to economical and political literature were numerous and important. We have already mentioned his *History of Agriculture and Prices*, and to this may be added his *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*. He edited the speeches of his friends Bright and Cobden, produced for the Clarendon Press an annotated edition of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, and collected and edited, with historical elucidations, the *Protests of the House of Lords*. His minor works, often the product of wide reading and research, are too numerous for detailed mention.

Of his personal character many different estimates will be formed by those who knew him in different capacities. He was boisterous and uncompromising in the expression of his often aggressive opinions, but of kindly nature and generous sympathies. His talk was racy and often too full-bodied to satisfy a fastidious taste, but he was generally well worth hearing, for his knowledge was wide and various, and he applied it with no little ingenuity to the support of the opinions he espoused. His wife survives him, and he leaves several children. His eldest son died very suddenly some years ago—it was uncertain whether by his own hand or as the result of an untoward accident. Many of the late Professor's friends will recollect the very touching letter which he wrote

on that occasion in response to their widespread expressions of sympathy and in repudiation of the hypothesis of suicide. A younger son distinguished himself some ten years ago by a brilliant mathematical career at the University. His only daughter was trained by her father in classical studies, and was the first lady admitted to the privileges of University examination at Oxford who obtained a distinction pronounced by the examiners to be equivalent in all respects to a first class in Classical Moderations.

SIR RICHARD BURTON

OBITUARY NOTICE, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1890

WE announce with much regret the death of Sir Richard Burton, the eminent Eastern traveller and Orientalist, at the age of sixty-nine. In him there has passed away one of the most remarkable and cosmopolitan, and at the same time one of the most scholarly, explorers of our time. Sir Richard Burton's name is in popular estimation associated with Africa, and rightly so, for there he did his most valuable and most original work. His discovery of Lake Tanganyika, especially when combined with that of the Victoria Nyanza by his companion Speke, deserves to rank with Stanley's memorable journeys. He and his companions were lions in their day, and if the excitement then was less than it has been over Mr. Stanley's recent expedition, it was not due to the fact that the geographical work they did was less important or accomplished with less hazard. The conditions which fan excitement and nurse enthusiasm had not reached the development thirty years ago which they have attained now.

Richard Francis Burton was born on 19th March 1821, at Barham House, Herts, the son of Colonel Netterville Burton, of the 36th Regiment, and his wife Martha Baker. Richard's grandfather was rector of Tuam, in Ireland, and his grand-uncle Bishop of Killala. They were the first of the family to settle in Ireland, and belonged to the Burtons of Barker Hill, near Shap, Westmoreland, who, again, are connected with some of the leading Burton families all over the kingdom. Much of Richard Burton's eccentricity was inherited both on the father's and mother's side. Most of his boyhood and youth was spent at

Tours and in wandering with his restless father over the Continent, from one temporary place of residence to another. Burton's training and education were thus of an irregular and spasmodic character, ill fitted to qualify him for the routine of an official career. It, however, fostered his powers of observation, and gave him ample opportunity of exercising his wonderful faculty for the acquisition of languages. The Burton children were left very much to themselves, so that Richard's innate wayward disposition had little check.

At last, in 1840, the family returned to England, and young Burton was entered at Oxford, going into residence at Trinity College in the Michaelmas Term of that year. His previous training was not conducive to compliance with Oxford ways. He was leader in the wildest pranks of his time; in Latin and Greek he made little headway, but he quickly mastered Arabic. Burton soon got disgusted with University life and resolved to quit it. This he did by deliberately attending a race meeting against orders, and was of course "sent down." This was precisely what he wanted. When he arrived suddenly in London (in 1842), he told his friends that he had been allowed an extra vacation for taking a double first-class with the very highest honours. Of course the truth was soon discovered, and in the end he obtained a commission in the East India Company's service. He sailed from England on 18th June 1842, his only companion being a bull-terrier of the Oxford breed. He landed at Bombay on 28th October, and was posted as ensign to the 18th Regiment Bombay Native Infantry, which he joined at Baroda. He soon became master of Hindustani and fencing, and astonished his fellow-officers and displeased his superiors by the eccentricities of his conduct. Nevertheless in 1843 he was made regimental interpreter, and succeeded in indulging his wandering propensities by expeditions to various parts of India. Burton's career as an explorer, however, may be said to have begun in 1852, when he undertook, in the disguise of a Pathan, that journey to Medina and Mecca, the description of which forms one of the most interesting of his many narratives. His life thenceforth, until he settled down as Consul at Trieste, was an almost uninterrupted series of exploring expeditions. Before this (1851) he had published a volume on *Scinde*, giving the results of his observations while resident in the "unhappy

valley," and in the same year a volume on *Goa and the Blue Mountains*.

Burton's next expedition was to Somaliland, even now but little known, and then full of dangers. The expedition was undertaken by the Directors of the East India Company, and Burton was accompanied by Lieutenant Speke. The expedition left Aden at the end of 1854, and Burton alone, again in disguise, succeeded, amid the greatest risks, in entering the sacred city of Harrar. Returning again to Berbera in the beginning of 1855, Burton intended to penetrate to the Nile, but shortly after landing the expedition was attacked, Burton and Speke being wounded, and narrowly escaping with their lives. The narrative of this hazardous expedition was published in 1856, under the title of *First Footsteps in East Africa*.

After a run to Constantinople in 1856, in the vain hope of being employed in the war against Russia, Burton returned to England still more disgusted with officialism, and still more determined to distinguish himself as an African explorer. He now undertook, after a trial trip to Zanzibar and other coast towns, the expedition into the heart of Africa on which his fame will mainly rest. For years rumours had been reaching the coast of great lakes in the interior; and Krapf and Rebmann, two missionaries, had actually seen a snow-covered mountain just under the equator. Livingstone had made his great journey across the continent (he arrived in England in December 1856), and had aroused an interest in Africa which has been increasing in intensity ever since. We have heard much recently of the great lakes and rivers and mountains which covered the old maps of Africa, but which D'Anville rightly swept away. A great lake was reported to exist in the Zanzibar interior, and it was to find this that Burton and his companion Speke left Zanzibar in June 1857, under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society. For the first time the route which has now become a well-trodden highway, from Bagamoyo to Ujiji, was traversed by the feet of white men. After more than the usual trouble, a final start was made, and through many trials and sufferings Ujiji was reached on 14th February 1858, about eight months from leaving Bagamoyo.

Thus the first of those great lakes of Central Africa which probably form its most remarkable feature found its place on the map. Moreover, the expedition went over hundreds of miles

of new country, and in addition Speke made a run to the north to find that other great lake, Victoria Nyanza, around which English and German interests have of late been mainly centred. Altogether this may be regarded as one of the most notable of African expeditions, and Burton was rightly hailed on his return to England in 1859 as an explorer of the first rank. He well deserved the gold medal which the Royal Geographical Society awarded him and the many other honours which were showered upon him. He may justly be regarded as the pioneer in a region where subsequently splendid work was done by Livingstone, Cameron, and Stanley. To the unhappy dispute which followed between Burton and Speke, and which gave rise to so much bitter feeling, it is not necessary to do more than allude.

After a run to the United States in 1860, when Burton visited Salt Lake City and the West (about which he wrote in his *City of the Saints*), he was once more back in Africa. Meantime, 22nd January 1861, he had married the lady who has been his loyal and helpful companion through life. Lady Burton belongs to the Arundells of Wardour. In August 1861 Burton and his bride sailed for "the Foreign Office Grave," Fernando Po, to which he had been appointed Consul. His three years' stay here was spent in exploring the whole of the coast region round the Bight of Biafra, varied by a special mission to the King of Dahomey, the results of which are recorded in two separate works. Burton's excellent work in this unhealthy region brought him promotion, and in 1865 he went as British Consul to Sao Paulo, in Brazil. As usual, this born explorer could not rest. He traversed all his province, voyaged down the San Francisco, visited the La Plata States, and subsequently crossed the continent to Chili and Peru, returning by the Straits of Magellan. As usual the result was a big book, *The Highlands of Brazil* (1869).

From Brazil Burton was transferred to Damascus, where he landed in October 1869. Damascus he made the basis of an exploration of Syria, but on the reduction of the Consulate he returned to England in 1871. A visit to Iceland in 1872 resulted in an elaborate work on the island, one of the most complete in our language. In the same year Burton was appointed to the Consulship at Trieste, and that post he filled till the day of his death. But even there he could not rest.

In 1876 and 1877-78 he made two visits to the Land of Midian to explore the old mines, the result being two works, too full of learning to be quite popular. In 1882, in company with Commander Cameron, Burton made an expedition to the interior of the Gold Coast for the purpose of prospecting the mines in that unhealthy region, but the only result was another book.

This may be regarded as Burton's last expedition. Since then his health began gradually to break down, and no wonder, considering the hardships he had had to endure from his boyhood upwards. But idleness with Burton meant unhappiness, and if he were not exploring, he was engaged in some scholarly investigation or some literary enterprise. His translation of Camoens (1880) is in itself a masterly performance, abounding with the most recondite and learned annotations. His literal translation of the *Arabian Nights* is the work of an accomplished Eastern scholar, who could treat the curious questions suggested by these stories of a comparatively primitive life with the frankness and some of the recklessness of science. Many memoirs and papers, besides the works we have mentioned, have come from Burton's busy hand, all of them marked by that keen research, frank criticism, and scholarly annotation which make his works a mine of knowledge, but which at the same time render them somewhat difficult reading.

Burton, as might have been expected, was never an official favourite, and his numerous friends are of opinion that his many services entitled him long ago to a handsome retiring pension; but Government was inexorable, and his only reward was a K.C.M.G., bestowed in 1886. Notwithstanding the apparent brusqueness of his manner and the frankness of his talk, Burton had many warm friends. No man ever succeeded better with the natives either of Africa or Asia; indeed, with barbarism he had almost more sympathy than with civilisation. He was a man of real humanity and an unwavering friend. Like Livingstone and Stanley, he was one of those determined men of action who carry out their purpose through every obstacle. As an observer he was keen and accurate, and, in spite of his perplexingly allusive style, was clear and graphic in his descriptions. In many respects Richard Burton was one of the most remarkable men of his time; but he will probably be longest remembered as the first pioneer in Central Africa, the discoverer of Lake Tanganyika.

SIR BARNES PEACOCK

OBITUARY NOTICE, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1890

SIR BARNES PEACOCK, the last acting paid member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council appointed under the statute of 1871, died yesterday morning at 40 Cornwall Gardens, Kensington, from failure of the heart, the final sign of the wearing out of a vigorous constitution which had resisted Bengal summers and London winters since 1810. Sir Barnes Peacock had a hereditary connection with the law. He was the third son of Mr. Lewis H. Peacock, of Lincoln's Inn Fields, solicitor, and entered at the Inner Temple at the age of eighteen. He was not immediately called to the Bar, but practised for five or six years as a certificated special pleader at 1 Paper Buildings, a mode of preparation for the career of an advocate which was then very often adopted. Admitted to the degree of barrister-at-law in 1836 he joined the Home Circuit, when Lord Bramwell was among his contemporaries, and had chambers in Harcourt Buildings. As might have been expected from his physique and training, Mr. Peacock's speciality was in raising and arguing refined points of law rather than in imposing his will upon common juries, and it was by a nicety of criminal pleading that he made his great mark in the profession.

In 1843 Daniel O'Connell had entered upon his campaign of monster meetings for the repeal of the Union. Beginning with an assemblage of 30,000 at Trim on 14th March, the numbers at these gatherings had increased to 250,000 at Tara, and on the 8th of October a still vaster multitude was expected to assemble at Clontarf. The Government prohibited the Clontarf meeting by proclamation, and arrested O'Connell, Gavan Duffy,

and others. O'Connell was sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a fine of £2000; the Irish Court of Queen's Bench upheld the conviction; and the accused appealed by way of writ of error to the House of Lords. Not even the recent legal proceedings in relation to Irish matters more vividly excited the public interest and attention than did this State trial. The case was argued for the several defendants by a number of learned counsel, of whom the then Mr. Barnes Peacock was nearly the junior, taking precedence only of Sir Colman O'Loughlen. Sir Thomas Wilde (afterwards the first Lord Truro) was the leader of this band of counsel, while Pollett and Thesiger (afterwards Lord Chelmsford) were against them for the Crown. Mr. Peacock took an objection which, though technical in point of form, brought in question the substantial justice of the proceedings. The whole bench of English Common Law Judges had been called in to advise the Law Lords. One of the most acute, Mr. Baron Parke of the Exchequer (afterwards Lord Wensleydale), confessed and avoided what he styled "the ingenious argument of Mr. Peacock."

But when the Law Lords came to give judgment (which they did in the teeth of the advice solicited from and given by the judges), Lord Denman delivered his elaborate speech adopting the objection of Mr. Peacock, and on that and another ground moved the House to reverse the decision of the Irish Court. Lord Cottenham and Lord Campbell supported the same view, and, in spite of the opinion of the Chancellor (Lyndhurst) and Lord Brougham, the sentence pronounced upon O'Connell and his companions was quashed and the prisoners released from custody.

The occasion was rendered the more striking historically because at this trial the lay lords practically renounced their right to take part in the decision of legal appeals. Messrs. Clark and Finnelly, the House of Lords' reporters, quote comparatively modern instances in which a case involving the rights of individuals was discussed and voted on in the House of Lords as if an ordinary debate on a political subject or a private Bill had been in question. So, in the O'Connell appeal, Lord Stradbroke wished to vote against the acquittal; but the common-sense and fairness of the House, even of those most bitterly opposed to O'Connell, prevailed, and a precedent against the interference of those peers who have not the training of

lawyers with the judicial business of the House was definitively established. The argument by which Mr. Barnes Peacock on this great occasion prevailed was briefly as follows: The indictment was of monstrous length, and contained several counts or separate charges. Some of these counts were held to be void in law. Yet the verdict and judgment were general; that is, given generally upon the whole of the indictment, not separately on each separate count. The objection was that such general judgment was bad and could not be taken to apply to the good counts only. The other objection (for which Mr. Peacock was not responsible) was founded upon a curtailment of the jury panel.

Sir Joseph Arnould, from whose account of the trial we have freely borrowed in this summary, observes that the decision in O'Connell's case has entirely put an end to the loose practice which had so long prevailed of giving a general verdict and judgment on an indictment comprising several distinct charges. It is obvious that such a practice deprived the accused of the opportunity of meeting each charge one by one. But the practice had long prevailed, and Lord Denman said, referring to Mr. Peacock's address, which had converted him, "I felt, as my learned brothers did, great surprise when I heard the most able and ingenious argument that was addressed to the House on this point, and I confess I had never felt any doubt on the subject till that argument was submitted to my mind."

After this great victory, as brilliant and useful a success as a stuff gownsmen could achieve, Mr. Peacock practised six years on the back benches. He took silk in 1850, and was at once made a Bencher of his Inn. Two years later he was appointed to be a Legal Member of the Supreme Council of India at Calcutta. A special pleader necessarily cultivates precision and accuracy of language. The work of the legal members of the Council of India is largely concerned with codification, and the training which Sir Barnes Peacock had received in the painful exactitude of the common law was naturally of great service to him in fulfilling his new functions. Sir Whitley Stokes couples his name with those of Macaulay, Sir Henry Maine, Sir James Stephen, Lord Hobhouse, and William Macpherson among the authors of the Indian Codes, those remarkable summaries of law compiled by Englishmen for India, which in turn have exer-

cised and are still exercising a valuable reciprocal action in simplifying English law in England.

Sir Barnes Peacock was destined not only to frame laws, but to expound them on the Bench. In 1859 Sir James Colville, with whom Sir Barnes Peacock afterwards sat so many years in the chamber of the Judicial Committee in Downing Street, retired from the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court of Calcutta. Sir Barnes Peacock succeeded him, was made Vice-President of the Legislative Council of India, and knighted. In 1862, when the Indian judicial institutions were remodelled, he became Chief Justice of what was henceforth called the High Court of Judicature at Bengal. The judgments of the Court have been of the greatest assistance to students of Indian law, not only as expositions of the Codes, but as repositories of learning on native customs.

In 1870 Sir Barnes Peacock returned to this country, and he has since 1872 been a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which has in later years, some time subsequently to his appointment, been strengthened by the addition of the Lords of Appeal in Ordinary. He returned with a great and deserved reputation from India. His work at the Privy Council has been marked rather by caution than by showy or brilliant qualities. He gave evidence of possessing great endurance and persistence, and we reported on Monday a case in which he took part so recently as last Saturday. His illness lasted only three days, and on its fatal termination being communicated yesterday to the Court in which he had sat for eighteen years, it immediately adjourned as a mark of respect to his memory. Sir Barnes Peacock was twice married, first in 1835 to Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. W. Fanning. She died in 1865, and he wedded in 1870 Georgina, daughter of Major-General Showers, C.B., who survives him. His eldest son, Mr. Frederick Barnes Peacock, C.S.I., has attained high office in the Indian Civil Service.

LORD COTTESLOE

OBITUARY NOTICE, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1890

It is with much regret that we announce that Lord Cottesloe died at Swanbourne, his residence near Winslow, Bucks, yesterday morning, at the great age of nearly ninety-three years. The deceased nobleman came of an ancient Hampshire family, which in the middle of last century migrated into Buckinghamshire. His grandfather, Mr. John Fremantle, was for some time Secretary to the Customs Board. This gentleman's third son, Sir Thomas Francis Fremantle, was an eminent naval officer. He took part in the battle of Copenhagen, and was with Nelson at Trafalgar. For his eminent services he was advanced to the rank of Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and was created a G.C.B. He was also the recipient of many distinguished foreign orders, and was created by the Emperor Francis Knight Commander of the Order of Maria Theresa and a Baron of the Austrian Empire. Admiral Fremantle, who became a baronet in 1821, had married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of the late Mr. Richard Wynne, of Falkingham, Lincolnshire. By this lady he had five sons and four daughters. His eldest son and successor, Thomas Francis Fremantle (the peer who died yesterday), was born on the 11th of March 1798. The second son, Admiral Sir Charles Howe Fremantle, G.C.B., attained considerable distinction in the Crimean War; and the third son, William Robert Fremantle, D.D., who is well known in the Church, became Dean of Ripon.

Lord Cottesloe was educated at Eton and at Oriel College, Oxford, where he took his degree with high honours in the year 1819. As Sir Thomas Fremantle, he entered Parliament at

the general election of 1826, being elected for Buckingham in the Conservative interest. The first time he addressed the House of Commons was in connection with the labourers and the Poor Laws. He gave his personal testimony as to the abuses of the Poor Laws in his own vicinity. In the session of 1829 he returned to the subject, strongly condemning the existing mode of paying labourers' wages. He showed that under its influence whole districts had been reduced to pauperism; and asserted that all the labourers in the country would be placed in a similar situation if the practice were allowed to continue. In many parishes the labourers were put up to auction, and their labour sold for 2s. or 4s. per week. Sir Thomas Fremantle was appointed in 1833 chairman of a Select Committee to inquire into the bribery which had been prevalent at Stafford in Parliamentary elections. The facts brought before the committee were of so heinous a character that it was resolved to recommend the disfranchisement of the borough. It was proved that there were not more than 200 persons out of the whole electorate who had not taken bribes in money. Sir Thomas brought in a disfranchising Bill, and although it met with much opposition its introducer succeeded in carrying it through.

When Sir Robert Peel came into office for a brief period in 1834, Sir Thomas Fremantle was appointed one of the Secretaries to the Treasury. This office he also held for three years in Peel's Administration of 1841. In 1844, however, he was offered the important post of Secretary at War, and in 1845-46—the last year of Sir Robert Peel's Administration—he was Chief Secretary for Ireland. In the session of 1845 there was a good deal of excitement respecting the dismissal of Lord Lucan from the Irish magistracy, and his subsequent restoration to the bench; and it fell to Sir Thomas Fremantle to defend the course taken by the Government. When the Maynooth College Bill was introduced by Sir Robert Peel, he took a prominent part in the discussions. Speaking on the second reading, he answered some of the objections raised by Mr. Gladstone. He asked if it was to be supposed, whether they gave a better or a worse education to the priests, that the extension of the priesthood or of the Catholic religion would be affected one way or another by the education or the non-education of these individuals? At a later stage of the measure Sir Thomas

Fremantle delivered a lengthy speech, advocating a policy of liberality towards the Roman Catholics. The speech was a well-reasoned one, and full of weighty arguments, which told upon the House.

During his tenure of the Irish Secretaryship, Sir Thomas Fremantle initiated many important legislative measures. One of these was a Bill for establishing a central asylum for criminal lunatics and for amending the Acts relating to lunatic asylums in Ireland. This Bill he carried through the House, and it became law. Another important measure was the Public Works (Ireland) Bill, introduced in January 1846. Great apprehension existed at this time of a deficiency of food in Ireland in the ensuing spring and summer. The Government were, therefore, desirous of affording every encouragement and facility for the employment of the population in public works and otherwise. Sir Thomas Fremantle accordingly introduced the above measure as the first step in this direction.

A few days later a second important step was taken, when the Chief Secretary brought forward a Bill to afford encouragement to the construction of small piers and harbours, with the object of extending the fisheries in Ireland. He proposed that the sum of £50,000 should be voted, to extend over five years at the rate of £10,000 a year, for the construction of piers and harbours for fishery purposes. The Treasury, or Board of Works, were to advance three-fourths of the sum required for the construction of each of these piers and harbours, and the remaining fourth was to be provided for in a way to be subsequently decided. A third important scheme introduced by Sir Thomas Fremantle for the benefit of Ireland was a measure amending the Drainage Acts, which were in a most unsatisfactory condition. By the existing Acts the Government were empowered to expend money for the promotion of public works in Ireland, but the grant for that purpose was exhausted. It was therefore proposed to vote a further sum out of the Exchequer which would stimulate public enterprise and find employment for the people; and it was also proposed to provide for the further drainage of the land, and to render the rivers navigable throughout the country. All these measures were successfully piloted through the shoals and quicksands of Parliamentary debate, and eventually became law. Their introducer was warmly complimented upon the skill with which he had drawn the measures

and the ability he displayed in explaining and defending their provisions.

Sir Thomas Fremantle resigned his seat for Buckingham in 1846, when he was appointed Deputy Chairman of the Board of Customs. He was subsequently promoted to the Chairmanship of this department, a post which he held down to the year 1873. On the accession of Lord Beaconsfield to power, in 1874, he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Cottesloe. Though the new peer was a constant attendant in the House of Lords, his appearances as a speaker were not very frequent. In the session of 1875 he took a considerable interest in Lord Lyttelton's Bill for the Increase of the Episcopate, and on the motion for the third reading he moved an amendment limiting its operation to five places: Guildford or Southwark (diocese of Winchester), Bodmin or Truro (Exeter), Southwell or Nottingham (Lincoln), St. Albans (Rochester), and Liverpool (Chester). He disclaimed hostility to the principle of the Bill, but thought it unwise to send to the Lower House a measure which provided for an indefinite extension of the Episcopate. On the recommendation of the Government, the amendment was not pressed.

A question of a very different character was raised in the session of 1879, when Lord Cottesloe moved for a statement of the trade of the United Kingdom with the United States of America for the years 1873-78, in continuation of the annual statement of trade for the year 1877. He adduced a formidable array of statistics to prove that the balance of trade between this country and America had been unfavourable to England, and that while the exports had been falling off year by year the imports had increased in a greater proportion. He maintained that the information he asked for was necessary to enable all persons embarking their capital in trade and agriculture to know how to conduct their business. It was not his intention, he said, to complain of free trade. The only complaint was that free trade had been too successful. It had added vastly to the wealth of the country, and had introduced habits of luxury and increased expenditure into all ranks of society. Neither was he in favour of reciprocity. But, be the result of freedom of trade what it might, it was well to know thoroughly how matters stood and where the shoe pinched, and for producers to understand how it was that prices of agricultural produce had fallen in the

markets of the United Kingdom. The return asked for by his lordship was prepared and produced, and it formed the subject of much comment in the newspapers.

Lord Cottesloe took a considerable interest in the temperance question, and was a member of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance which sat in 1880. Another question in the ventilation of which he took an active part was that of safety in railway travelling. When the lamentable fatal accident occurred to Sir F. Goldsmid on the Metropolitan Railway, his lordship brought the matter before the House of Lords, and he spoke upon the general subject on other occasions, Lord Beaconsfield thanking him in the course of one discussion for his solicitude upon this question.

The deceased peer married in 1824 Louisa Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Field-Marshal Sir George Nugent, and by her he had a family of five sons and six daughters. His eldest son (now the second Baron Cottesloe), born in 1830, is married to a sister of the Earl of Eldon. His second son, the Rev. W. H. Fremantle, is a Canon of Canterbury, and a well-known liberal clergyman; the third son, Mr. Charles W. Fremantle, C.B., is Deputy Master of the Mint; and the fourth son, Vice-Admiral Sir Edmund Fremantle, K.C.B., C.M.G., Naval Aide-de-Camp to the Queen, served in the Burmese War of 1852 and the Ashantee campaign of 1874, and recently, while in command of the East India station, has distinguished himself in the delicate operations which have resulted from British co-operation with Germany on the East African coast. The fifth son, who was in holy orders, predeceased his father. The dignity of Baron of the Austrian Empire, conferred upon Lord Cottesloe's father, was continued to Lord Cottesloe, who had the royal permission to bear the arms and use the title of such baron.

On completing his ninetieth year Lord Cottesloe celebrated the event by inviting his friends to receive the Holy Communion with him at St. Michael's, Chester Square. No fewer than sixty friends responded, including Sir Harry Verney (himself then eighty-seven years of age), Lord and Lady Middleton, Mr. and the Hon. Mrs. Farrer, the Hon. St. John Brodrick, M.P., General Julian Hall, Mr. Nugent, and many members of the Fremantle family. The noble lord's children and grandchildren subsequently presented him with a cabinet in which to keep the decorations gained by his father, who commanded a ship at

Trafalgar, and his uncle, Sir W. Fremantle, K.C.B., an intimate friend of George III. We may add the probably unprecedented fact that Lord Cottesloe was present in the House of Commons during the delivery of over fifty Budget speeches by various Chancellors of the Exchequer.

MR. BARON HUDDLESTON

OBITUARY NOTICE, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1890

WITH Mr. Baron Huddleston passes away one of the few relics of an ancient order of things. Baron Pollock happily remains with us, a solitary survivor. The deceased Judge was often humorously called during his life "the last of the Barons," as his was the latest appointment to the old Court of Exchequer, and the title by which he was always proud to be distinguished was one of the most interesting in English history. It went back to a period before the days of professional Judges, when the barons of the realm sat and heard causes in the Court of the King. After the regular courts had been established, the Court of King's Bench to try suits in which the Crown was concerned, the Common Pleas to adjudicate between subject and subject, the Barons of the Exchequer long remained laymen in the eyes of the lawyers, a sort of Lords of the Treasury or members of a non-Judicial Committee ; and accordingly it was only in the absence of other Judges, and in the case of the superior official of the Exchequer possessing a special personal qualification, that he was permitted to try ordinary questions in litigation. "If it happen," says the Statute of Edward III., "that none of the Justices of the one Bench nor the other can come into the country where the inquests or juries have to be taken, then the *Nisi Prius* shall be granted before the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, if he be a Man of the Law (*qi soit homme de lei*)."

But the convenient practice of appointing men of law prevailed increasingly, as it has a tendency to do, and the men of law contrived to draw much business into the Exchequer, by allowing the attorneys ingeniously to aver that the plaintiff was

the King's subject and could not pay his debt by reason of the defendant's default. Accordingly, from the twenty-first year of Elizabeth the Barons of the Exchequer, other than the Cursitor Baron, were selected, like the rest of the Common Law Judges, exclusively from the Serjeants-at-Law; and Mr. Huddleston, Q.C., who had been formally admitted a member of Serjeants' Inn to qualify him for his seat in the Court of Common Pleas, was thus rendered eligible for the place in the Court of Exchequer to which he was shortly afterwards transferred.

John Walter Huddleston was born in 1817, the son of a merchant captain, Thomas Huddleston, who had also some experience in the Royal Navy, by that gentleman's marriage with Alethea, daughter of Mr. H. Hichens, of St. Ives, Cornwall. Captain Huddleston, when he retired from the sea, lived at Dublin, and the late Judge matriculated in that city at Trinity College. He came to England to seek his fortune as usher in a school, but afterwards made a more promising start in life as a barrister at the Central Criminal Court. It is noteworthy that the Judge, whose charm of manner and skill in conversation made him afterwards peculiarly acceptable in distinguished society, began his ascent in not the most fashionable or promising surroundings. Mr. Huddleston was admitted a student of Gray's Inn on 18th April 1836, and was called to the Bar by that society in the summer of 1839. He took chambers in Hare Court, went the Oxford Circuit, the Worcester and Stafford Sessions, and became a diligent attendant at the Old Bailey. Many quaint stories the late Baron had to tell of his early training in that nursery of advocates, when Charles Phillipps was busily employed in restoring burglars to their friends and relations, while a friendly turnkey went up and down the corridors of Newgate touting for dock briefs on behalf of another *habitué* of the Court. Mr. Huddleston brought into the Court quite another rank of character and ability, and his early successes led him to add to his field of practice the Middlesex Sessions, between which and the Old Bailey Bar there has always been an intimate connection.

In later forensic experience Mr. Huddleston is remembered as admirable in the conduct of a cause, dangerous in cross-examination, and above all things skilful in presenting his points to the jury. It will be a surprise to many to learn that in this early period of his career Mr. Huddleston's speciality lay

in the argument of Poor Law cases, a province of law depending on a great variety of statutes and decisions. It will have been noted, however, by all that, to the end, one of his most valuable qualities was his lucidity. He was always at the greatest pains to secure that what he meant should be clearly comprehended by his hearers, and while still on his promotion he also took the trouble to master legal problems, which had, however, in themselves no fascination for his mind. A contemporary, whose criticism was more brilliant and amusing when it was not checked by the responsibility of print, has given the following sketch of Mr. Huddleston and some of his principal antagonists at the Middlesex Sessions. Referring to the Poor Law appeals, Serjeant Ballantine writes, in his memoirs :

"These involved intricate points of law, and a great deal of money was spent in ridiculous contests between parishes in relation to the support of paupers. Mr. Bodkin, who afterwards became Chairman, or as it was then called, Assistant-Judge, of these sessions, was an extremely able advocate in this kind of case, and from his early experience possessed much practical knowledge. Mr. Clarkson, at first his usual antagonist, contrived to blunder through them, but he and others shortly yielded to Mr. Huddleston, afterwards and now a Baron of the late Exchequer, and one whose mind was of an order peculiarly qualified to master the technicalities of this description of business. This gentleman was one of my earliest friends at the Bar. He possessed qualities which made his success only a matter of time. He was fond of society, but never neglected work, and his thorough knowledge of his causes made him a most powerful and efficient advocate. His career has been in all respects a successful one, and there are few men who are able to reflect, as he can, that both in public and in private life he has attained every object of an honourable ambition."

Mr. Huddleston's position on the Oxford Circuit warranted him in accepting silk in 1857 from Lord Cranworth, then Lord Chancellor. He was at the same time elected a Bencher of Gray's Inn, but continued to have his chambers in the Temple, at No. 2 Paper Buildings, to which he had removed from the Inner Temple Lane, having left Hare Court in 1844. Mr. Huddleston had already, in 1852, contested Worcester unsuccessfully as a Conservative, and was in the year of his appointment as Queen's Counsel again on the losing side at Shrewsbury. In 1859 and

in 1861 he fared equally ill at Kidderminster. At last Mr. Huddleston went off to seek Parliamentary honours far away from his circuit, and found a seat at Canterbury in 1865. He gratified the Kentish growers by passing the Act for preventing fraudulent marks on hops, but not even thus could he retain the favour of the archiepiscopal city, and Parliament met without him after the general election of 1868. Next came an unsuccessful assault on Norwich in 1870. Four years later Mr. Gladstone went to the country with his famous bid for the abolition of the income-tax.

In the meanwhile, Mr. Huddleston, Q.C., had sensibly increased his attractions in the eyes of electors by marrying Lady Diana Beauclerk, sister of the Duke of St. Albans. The wedding is thus laconically recorded by Bishop Wilberforce, who characteristically forgets to mention in his diary the less highly-placed of the parties to the union: "1872, Dec, 18. To All Saints', Knightsbridge. To marry Lady Di. Back, and to Zanzibar Committee."

Lady Diana's ponies were often driven through the streets of the East Anglian capital. The Duchess of St. Albans accompanied her daughter, and proved an indefatigable canvasser. Mr. Huddleston defeated Mr. Tillet by forty-seven votes, and twelve months afterwards Mr. Disraeli offered him the Solicitor-Generalship. It had fallen vacant in painful circumstances. During the long exclusion of the Tories from office Sir John Karslake had become over-ripe for that partial retirement which the judicial bench affords to leading advocates. Compelled to keep in the front rank and to compete for place in it with the keenest intellects of the day, Sir John Karslake had overtaken his magnificent endowments, and the failure of the nervous powers which was shortly to prove fatal to him had already attacked his eyesight and rendered him now incapable of even the lighter work of the bench. Sir Richard Bagge, succeeding to the Attorney-Generalship, left the post of Solicitor to be filled up. Mr. Huddleston, however, did not feel sufficiently sure of his seat to court re-election. He refused the law officership, while reserving his claims to a judgeship, and Sir John Holker, who was considerably his junior, went into place.

Mr. Huddleston was now incontestably among the leaders of his profession, and had for many years been undisputed head on the Oxford Circuit. In 1865 he had succeeded Mr. Phinn, Q.C., as

Judge Advocate of the Fleet and counsel to the Admiralty, and although he knew less of the lines of a ship than of the points of a horse, he yet managed to hold his own against the skilled mercantile lawyers of his day, men like Mr. Field and Sir G. Honyman, wherever knowledge of human nature and adroitness in influencing a finding on the facts could come in to supplement a comparatively superficial study of the law reports. A familiar figure as counsel in the Divorce Court, where he has been heard repeatedly impressing upon a common jury the precise significance of French words of endearment, which he pronounced, probably on purpose, with the most English of accents; often briefed in the most important civil cases in London, as invariably on his circuit,—he still went for great trials to the Old Bailey, where, in 1871, he conducted one of the most memorable and successful defences, that of Edward Pook, who was accused of the murder of a servant-girl named Clousen in a deserted lane near Eltham in Kent.

A murder of the foulest dye had certainly been committed, there were circumstances of suspicion against the young man, the police had made up their minds from the first that he was guilty, and the zeal of some members of the force had considerably outrun their discretion. Mr. Huddleston annihilated the evidence of one important witness, Perrin, a singer, on cross-examination, pointed out the weaknesses of the prosecution, and then attacked the police as severely as if his instructions had been similar to the time-honoured "No case, abuse the opposing attorney." Chief Justice Bovill seconded his efforts, and the verdict of the jury was an acquittal; but feeling ran high on the subject in the town of Greenwich, where the girl and the prisoner had lived; stump orators on Blackheath continued most unfairly to denounce the accused person, and proceedings for defamation were by no means so invariably successful as had been Mr. Huddleston's defence at the trial.

Almost equally victorious was his defeat, turned afterwards into a substantial victory, in the case of Toomer or Toomey tried on circuit for a felonious offence against the chastity of a woman. The girl's story prevailed with both judge and jury, but the decision seemed monstrous to those who read the evidence calmly and uninfluenced by the beauty of the principal witness. Mainly, we believe, through the intervention of an accomplished

Irish lawyer, now Lord Justice Barry, Mr. Spencer Walpole re-investigated the case. The Home Secretary, sitting with two assessors, called witnesses and counsel before him. Mr. Huddleston argued, as it were on appeal, not in Court indeed, but yet before a trained lawyer. It was clear that the verdict ought not to stand, and the convict was pardoned by Her Majesty.

It would be impossible to mention all the *causes célèbres* with which Mr. Huddleston was concerned. He defended one of the Chartists, prosecuted in the Countess of Derwentwater's case, was junior to Sir Alexander Cockburn in the prosecution of Dr. Palmer, the betting-man and medical practitioner, for wholesale poisoning at Rugeley ; and he vindicated the character of Mrs. Firebrace in the court for matrimonial cases.

In February 1875, Sir G. Honyman having retired from ill-health after a very brief period of service as Judge, Mr. Huddleston was appointed in his stead, took his seat at the Common Pleas, was duly knighted, and was in May of the same year transferred to the Court of Exchequer, on the death of Mr. Baron Pigott. He proved on the bench what is called a strong Judge, taking a view of his own, and almost invariably leading the jury to the same opinion. His court, which he always insisted on having heated and protected from currents of air till the atmosphere was oppressive to the verge of endurance, was enlivened by the genial exercise of his great powers of memory and of anecdote. One day he communicated to his hearers a valuable unreported precedent, to wit, that he himself had granted an injunction while walking on the pier at Brighton, and he added that Vice-Chancellor Sir Lancelot Shadwell had made a similar order while bathing in the Thames.

His stories had usually a real bearing on the matter in hand, and were far from being told without a purpose. Thus he encouraged counsel, the counsel be it remembered for the side which the Judge thought to have the better case, in the "Rosherville bear" action (in which he influenced the jury to give £400 damages for the bite of a bear) by recounting a story well known on the Oxford Circuit. A bearish Judge had been finding fault with Mr. Maule, and in the course of his observations spoke of him as a child. The retort was that it was better to be a child than to be a bear, for a child might become a man, but a bear would always remain a brute. He was named in the special Commission in 1882 to try Maclean for

high treason ; but his best-known trial was that of the action of "Belt v. Lawes," in which he asserted the rights of juries to be art-critics for themselves, and won a verdict of £5000 for Mr. Richard Belt against Mr. C. B. Lawes. Judgment, though given with costs, was not fruitful upon execution. The successful plaintiff and the unsuccessful defendant went through the Bankruptcy Court. A still worse fate awaited the plaintiff. He was brought up on another matter at the Old Bailey, found guilty, and sentenced by Mr. Justice Stephen to twelve months' imprisonment. Another action in which a jury directed by Mr. Baron Huddleston gave heavy damages was that of "Bryce v. Rusden." An author writing a history of New Zealand was informed that a statesman of the colony had committed atrocious cruelties. The historian published the intelligence thus communicated, but unfortunately he had been deceived by the political opponents of the man traduced. In the impartial atmosphere of *Nisi Prius* the charges proved baseless, and the disseminator of the libels was heavily mulcted. It is impossible not to pity the Thucydides whose Cleon lived and instructed counsel.

On many occasions, outside merely professional or Parliamentary life, Mr. Baron Huddleston has sustained rôles of dignity and importance. He represented Gray's Inn at the funeral of Berryer in 1868, pronounced an *éloge* in French over the tomb of the great advocate, and was himself entertained by the French Bar under the presidency of M. Grévy. When Birmingham was erected into an assize town in 1884, Mr. Baron Huddleston went the circuit as senior Judge with Mr. Justice Wills, and at the Mayor's banquet made what may be called the dedicatory oration, declaring the independence of the Judges and the claims of Birmingham which had at length been satisfied ; gracefully alluding to his own old friends, and finding words of commendation for his political opponents, Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain. In 1885 he made a deliverance against the system of sending Judges singly on circuit. At his houses in Ennismore Gardens and at Ascot, as well as at the residences of his great acquaintance, he was fond of exercising the remarkable powers of genial and fascinating address which he undoubtedly possessed, whether or not at heart he was more amiable or less selfish than the majority of successful men. Society, indeed, played a large part in his later life, and did not leave him that leisure for study which a Judge who is satisfactorily to dispose

of legal arguments requires, especially in days like the present, when law and legal practice change rapidly. Even in his room at the Royal Courts of Justice a French edition of the works of Comte Vasili might be found on his table, where one would have expected to see the Judicature Acts. This was the foible of a man whose character had otherwise much in it that was eminently deserving of esteem and affection.

DEAN CHURCH

OBITUARY NOTICE, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1890

RICHARD WILLIAM CHURCH was born at Lisbon on 25th April 1815. His father, John Dearman Church, had married a lady of English family but German extraction, living in that city, Bromley Caroline Metzner. He was a merchant whose inclination or business had made him cosmopolitan. Living first at Cork, then at Lisbon, and, when he had retired from business, at Ashwick Grove in Somerset, he passed the years immediately preceding his death in 1828 at Florence. Sensibility to the attraction of foreign interests ran in the family. His younger brother was the well-known Sir Richard Church, who, after distinguished service in the British army throughout the Napoleonic War, was invited to lead the Greeks in their war of liberation in 1826. Having brought the struggle to a successful issue, he resided for forty years in Athens, taking a keen interest in Greek politics, which made his house the resort of motley groups of patriots of all parties and every rank. He retained to the end the love and admiration of the Hellenes. When he died, full of years, in 1873, his funeral was attended by the King and chief officers of the nation ; and his monument in the Athenian cemetery was raised and inscribed at the national expense. It is remarkable that the parents of both these brothers, and therefore the grandparents of the Dean of St. Paul's, were members of the Society of Friends. Sir Richard Church broke the connection at the early age of sixteen by running away from home, and enlisting in the army ; but his brother John remained in the Society till his marriage in 1814.

This variety of family antecedents and connections may

have had its influence in forming the Dean's character. He combined with a very firm grasp of his own principles a wide toleration of views extremely different from his own, and a singular power of entering with a vivid interest and just appreciation into the pursuits and studies of men of the most various countries and occupations. Whatever tendency he may have inherited in this direction was, indeed, increased by his own early experience. His youth was chiefly spent in Italy ; but when the family returned to England, after the father's death in 1828, and settled in Bath, he was sent to school for two years with the Rev. Dr. Swete at Redland Hill, near Bristol. Dr. Swete was a leading member of the Evangelical party at Bristol. He was afterwards rector of Blagdon, in Somerset, and his name has become known to a later generation by the recent election of his son to the Regius Professorship of Divinity in Cambridge. From Dr. Swete's he entered the University of Oxford as a commoner of Wadham College in 1833. That his somewhat irregular education and the absence of the discipline of a public school had not disqualified him from gaining the highest prizes of Oxford ambition was proved by his acquisition of a first class in the classical schools in 1836, and an Oriel fellowship two years later.

Oriel was then in the full flush of its reputation. The glory achieved by Copleston, Whately, and Arnold was sustained, though with a different colour, by Keble, Pusey—who had, however, rejoined his original College of Christ Church as a canon—Hurrell Froude, and Newman. The latter was then in the zenith of his career. He had resigned his college tutorship in consequence of a disagreement with the Provost, but was devoting his energies all the more completely to his theological campaign. The tracts which convulsed the English Church were issuing in rapid and as yet unchecked succession under his editorship. Froude's *Remains* had just astonished the world by the exhibition of the same principles in the practical conduct of an individual ; the famous sermons were gathering in St. Mary's Sunday after Sunday a select audience of the choicest intellect of the rising generation of Oxford men ; and the high table and common-room of Oriel were frequented by able and earnest men, who shared the vicar's sentiments and sometimes took part in his labours.

Such a society was eminently adapted to captivate the new

Fellow. Its combination of audacity with reserve, its daring exploration of neglected or despised paths of history, its manifest religious earnestness, its accurate perceptions of fact, were all exactly suited to the fine edge of his powerful but restrained intellect, and the delicate susceptibility of his moral nature. With the leader himself Church contracted a close friendship, which was never broken by the subsequent incidents which drove their careers far asunder. Nothing but death closed an affectionate, if intermittent, correspondence between the Cardinal and the Dean. But it is characteristic of Church that his devotion to his leader never involved the surrender of his own judgment. The difference between Newman and the Provost did not prevent him from accepting a tutorship in the College, which he held for some years, and only resigned that he might devote his time to other objects. And the aid that he rendered to the Oxford movement was never directly theological, but was given in the subsidiary line, which suited his own genius and the wide range of his sympathies, of history and general literature. The articles which he contributed to the *British Critic* in 1843 on the conflict of St. Anselm with William Rufus and Henry I. at once revealed to the readers the advent of a vigorous and original writer. They have since been combined and rewritten to make a volume of the *Sunday Library*; but what they have gained in completeness by this process they have lost in the fire and freshness which gave special animation to their first production.

When, after the shock of Newman's conversion, the friends who had not seen their way to follow him were obliged to reconsider their position and remodel their arrangements, the *British Critic* became the *Christian Remembrancer*, and found in Church a frequent contributor. He gave to it a graphic description of a "Pardon" in Brittany, the result of personal observation—an elaborate picture, severely just, of the Court of Leo X., constituting at least a partial justification of the revolt of Luther—a sketch, vivid with the recollections of his own travel in the previous year, of the results left by the great popular commotions of 1848 in France and Italy—a defence of Pascal against the revived Ultramontaniam of the present century—and last, but greatest, of all, the famous essay on Dante, which has served as an inexhaustible quarry for all subsequent translators and commentators. These writings were afterwards

collected and reprinted in a volume of *Essays and Reviews*, as a tribute of affection to the writer from some of his friends, when he was leaving Oxford in 1853. Their gift was requited by a touching dedication, in which he commemorates his debt, "in past years of much anxiety but much happiness, to the intimacy of many and the kindness of all." But his name was then hardly heard beyond his immediate Oxford circle; the book was not got up with the attractions appropriate to its purpose; the world took little notice of it at the time, and Church remained still practically unknown. A considerable portion of his work was indeed still anonymous.

One of the first efforts of the reconstituted Anglican party after Newman's secession was the establishment of a journal to maintain the *via media* theory, which Newman's departure seemed for the moment to have crushed. The result was the formation of the *Guardian*, which the lapse of nearly fifty years still leaves in vigorous maturity. In this Church bore a leading part along with James Mozley, Mountague Bernard, and his lifelong friend Sir Frederick Rogers, then a brother Fellow of Oriel, and afterwards Lord Blachford. He was a frequent contributor to its columns, as he was in later days also to those of the *Saturday Review*, though in both cases his subjects were literary, historical, and philosophical, rather than theological.

But though his main occupation at this period of his life was literary, he did not shrink from action when he felt the call of duty. Such an occasion occurred in 1844, when "Ideal" Ward was cited to show cause in Convocation why he should not be degraded from his University degree. Ward's case did not probably rouse in Church any very keen sensation; but when the Heads of Houses fancied they saw in it an opportunity of securing a vote of Convocation condemnatory of Newman and Tract 90, his indignation was kindled, and he happened to have the means of giving effect to it. He was junior Proctor for the year; Guillemard, the senior Proctor, shared his feeling; and when the Vice-Chancellor put the condemnatory vote to the meeting in the usual form, it was at once quashed by the rarely-used veto, expressed in the formula *Nobis Procuratoribus non placet*. The words were uttered by the senior Proctor, but the current opinion of the University assigned the motive power to the junior.

But the life which had flowed thus evenly for so many years

was broken at length by the cause which changes the current of so many lives. In 1853 Richard Church married Helen Frances Bennett, daughter of the squire and rector of Sparkford in Somerset. He had previously been presented by Mrs. Horner of Mells Park in the same county to the neighbouring rectory of Whatley, and with a view to that had received priest's orders in the previous year from Bishop Wilberforce. He had shown his choice of a vocation in 1838 when he was ordained deacon, but had seen no reason before, during his residence at Oriel, to proceed to the second and decisive step. Whatley is a country village a couple of miles from Frome, with a population of about 200 farmers and labourers and one gentleman's house. Here the accomplished writer and scholar, who had enjoyed for fifteen years the most intellectual and refined society of Oxford, was content, and more than content, to dwell, ministering diligently and conscientiously to the simple wants of the poor. The friends who knew his powers and were unwilling to see them, as it seemed to them, wasting on the desert air, tried hard but unsuccessfully to draw him into public life. Many tempting offers were made and refused. He would not even accept the Archdeaconry of Wells, which Lord Auckland, then Bishop of Bath and Wells, pressed on him. A turn as Select Preacher at Oxford in 1869, and occasional sermons and lectures elsewhere, including a sermon before the Queen at Windsor, were all that could be obtained from him ; though when his relative Dr. Moberly was made Bishop of Salisbury he consented to become his chaplain.

At length in 1871 Mr. Gladstone offered him the Deanery of St. Paul's, vacant by the death of Dr. Mansel. An instant refusal was only arrested by a telegram from the Prime Minister requesting a personal interview. He complied, and, yielding to the joint persuasion of Mr. Gladstone and Dr. Liddon, he reluctantly accepted the great office. The appointment was hailed with delight by all who knew him, and by none more cordially than by Stanley, who had then been Dean of Westminster some eight years. If we cannot now do something for London, he wrote—we give the substance and not the words of his note—"may the malison of St. Peter and St. Paul light on us." Separated widely by religious affinities, the two men were united by old Oxford friendship and mutual literary appreciation.

Very much was done for London under the auspices of the

two Deans. St. Paul's, which not so long before had been jealously guarded by a 2d. fee at the door, and a path strictly hedged in from door to choir to prevent sightseers evading the fee under the pretext of worship, was thrown open to all the world. Its services were multiplied; its nave was fitted up for worship; great preachers of every shade of theology were invited to fill the pulpit; the multiform resources of sacred music, under the able direction of Sir John Stainer, were exhibited in ways hitherto unthought of; every society or guild that was doing any good work was heartily welcomed; the disused Chapter-house was turned to good account as a place of intercourse between the young men of the City and the canons; and, in short, the great Cathedral became, as it ought to be, the home and centre of the Church life of London. Dean Church would have been the first to say that all this was due not to himself but to the energetic Chapter over which he presided—comprising such men as Canons Liddon and Gregory and the late Bishop Lightfoot. But it is nevertheless true that it could not have been done unless the Dean had given his full sympathy to the movement; and no one probably, outside the Chapter, knows how much it was indebted to his wide sympathies, his delicate perception, and his firm but quiet guidance.

In one particular, at least, he contributed his full share to the work. His thoughtful and pregnant sermons, clothed in a style at once pure and rich, and delivered with a clearness of articulation that carried a voice not strong over a considerable portion of the vast area of the Cathedral, enchained the attention of large congregations at first, and secured a far wider audience of admiring readers afterwards. The sermons covered a large ground, but one thought lay beneath most of them. Like his friend Cardinal Newman, Church was deeply impressed with the contrast between modern society and the life of the New Testament; but he recognised that each was fitted to its place in the world's history; and his constant endeavour was, not like Newman, to bring back the later to the earlier form, but to harmonise the two by discovering and exhibiting the working of the same spirit under different external aspects. The preface to his first volume of University sermons describes them as an attempt to "touch, but only touch, the relations between Christianity and the ideas and facts of modern civilised society." It is an inexhaustible and most attractive theme; and the

sermons which the Dean preached in St. Paul's, whether in his own turn, or on several occasions when he occupied, as a worthy substitute, Canon Liddon's place, all bear, directly or indirectly, on the same topic.

But sermons were far from exhausting his literary activity at this time. Two volumes in Mr. John Morley's series of "Men of Letters" on Spenser and Bacon display the exhaustive treatment, independent judgment, and clear and forcible expression which he brought to bear on every subject that he touched. The internal decoration of the Cathedral was another matter in which he took the warmest interest, but which the differences of opinion in the directing committee did not allow him to complete. Something, however, has been done to relieve the bareness of the walls by the mosaics in the dome, and by the imposing reredos, round which a fierce contest, both of taste and law, is still raging.

In various ways the period of Church's occupation of the Deanery will leave a strong mark in the annals of the Cathedral. To the outer world he was not much more than a name, over which a great reputation hovered, though men might be puzzled to say on what it rested. He was not, in the ordinary sense of the word, a popular preacher; he was never to be heard on platforms, or seen, if he could help it, at public dinners; he sedulously avoided controversy, and kept aloof from the dust and din of London society. But his literary force and finish were evident to all who were capable of appreciating the finest workmanship; and his high moral and religious worth were known to a large circle of friends in various stations of life. For he had a remarkable faculty of attracting and retaining the most opposite natures. The intimate friend of Newman, James Mozley, and Charles Marriott, he was yet on the best of terms with Clough and Fraser in his own college, and outside of it with Stanley, Jowett, Lake, and Temple.

Nor were his sympathies confined to literature or theology. He took a lively interest in politics, and for a long time followed Mr. Gladstone, whose friendship he enjoyed, but parted from him, as so many of his old friends have done, when Home Rule became the question of the day. All the rising talent of Oxford, in physical as well as mental science, was sure to be recognised by Church. Frank Buckland and Dr. Sclater were to be seen in his rooms, and Professor Asa Gray was a close friend and

active correspondent. Church was himself a good botanist, and amused himself with something of a chemical laboratory in Whatley Rectory. He took also great interest in naval affairs, and delighted to watch the stately ships go by at Portsmouth and Folkestone, to which latter place he was wont to retire when winter fogs drove him from London; and he displayed no small taste and skill as a draughtsman and painter.

It was no common mind which could entertain so many unconnected pursuits and hold pleasant relations with so many different men. Those who knew him well believed him fit for any office that might be thrust upon him. Many offices were vainly thrust upon him; it is an open secret that he might have held, if he pleased, the highest place in the English Church. But he was utterly devoid of the ambition which is gratified by the possession of office or rank or social distinction; and though he yielded so far to persuasion as to accept the Deanery of St. Paul's, and though, when he had accepted it, he never shrank from its necessary duties, he avoided, as far as was possible, all publicity or display. A studious life amongst his books and papers, with the companionship of a few dear friends and choice spirits, was always the object of his desire. He enjoyed it completely in Oxford, in a less degree, perhaps, at Whatley, where he had more tranquillity but fewer friends, but he contrived even in the heart of London to secure still a good deal of both. He will remain a rare and striking example of a man of singular mental gifts, who found his chief happiness in their mere exertion, irrespective of any material results which might flow from them, but who, nevertheless, was always ready to discharge ably and conscientiously whatever practical duties might be laid upon him by circumstance or station.

The Dean leaves a widow and three daughters, one of whom is married to Canon Paget. His only son died three years ago. We understand that, in accordance with the Dean's special desire, he is not to be buried in St. Paul's, but at Whatley—the quiet country home which he always remembered with peculiar affection.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK

OBITUARY NOTICE, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1890

WILLIAM THOMSON was the son of Mr. John Thomson, of Kelswick House, Whitehaven, a man largely interested in the trade of that town and district, and was born on 11th February 1819. He was sent to Shrewsbury School, then under Samuel Butler, the author of a well-known atlas, who was appointed Bishop of Lichfield about the time that Thomson left school. In due course he proceeded to Oxford, to Queen's, the college which was then, even more than now, a distinctively north country college; and he naturally obtained one of the scholarships which at that time were confined to natives of certain counties. Few traditions of his undergraduate days remain; it is only certain that, passed as they were in the midst of the "Oxford Movement," he was left untouched by it; for, orthodox as he always was, the romanticism of Newman and Pusey had no attraction for his mind.

In 1840 he took his degree, obtaining, strange to say, only a third class in the Literæ Humaniores school. This failure, however, did not interfere with his election as Fellow of his college; and in that position his real abilities soon began to tell. Ordained deacon in 1842 and priest in 1843, he took a spell of clerical work at Guildford and at Cuddesdon, and in 1847 he returned to Queen's, to be appointed tutor and dean. In 1848 he received University recognition by being made Select Preacher, and five years afterwards he preached the Bampton Lectures, the subject being "The Atoning Work of Christ." In the same year he published a book of another kind, which attracted much more attention and had a more

direct effect on his career. This was a little volume on Logic, entitled *An Outline of the Necessary Laws of Thought*. Being written in a clear and readable style, it had an immediate success. The title implies the school of thought to which the writer belonged; the word "necessary," in that connection, meant that he was on the side of Mansel and Sir William Hamilton and against J. S. Mill, whose advocacy of the philosophy of experience was at that time beginning to attract many adherents in Oxford. Thomson's little handbook, though in the preface to a later edition (1860) he stood up for its originality, served to introduce to the Hamiltonian philosophy many who could never have understood the writings of the Edinburgh Professor at first hand. It was a book with few pretensions to learning, as Mansel or Mark Pattison would have understood the phrase, but it was the book of a man who had read his subject with a good deal of care, and who could state his views methodically and clearly. There is no doubt that it helped Thomson's worldly advancement not a little; that, for instance, when he stood for the Preachership of Lincoln's Inn in 1858, votes were turned by it in his favour.

Before that date, however, several important events took place in his life. In 1855 he married a young lady living in Oxford, Zoe, the daughter of Mr. J. H. Skene, a gentleman belonging to the Embassy at Constantinople, and afterwards Consul at Aleppo. There were no married Fellowships in those days, and Thomson had to look elsewhere for occupation. He was already so well known that no surprise was expressed at his appointment to the Crown living of All Souls', Marylebone. This church, however, he held but a very short time, for he was scarcely inducted when Dr. Fox, the Provost of Queen's, died, and Thomson was elected in his place. It was a triumph for the Progressists, for he had taken a strong part on that side before the University Commission of 1854, and his enemies were, consequently, not few. He remained in this important post some six years, adding to it the Preachership of Lincoln's Inn (1858), and a Chaplaincy in Ordinary to Her Majesty (1859). From this time his rise in the Church was extremely rapid.

His relations with the Court became naturally close, and his strong personality and *savoir faire* appear to have impressed the Queen and the Prince Consort. Many stories have been

told of the manner of his promotion, but it seems at least certain that both the Court and Lord Palmerston were struck by him, so that when Dr. Baring was translated from Gloucester and Bristol, Thomson was appointed at once to the see. He was consecrated on the day of the Prince Consort's death, 15th December 1861, and his first sermon in Gloucester Cathedral had that sad event for its subject. He occupied the see only long enough to organise and become sponsor to one of the counter-demonstrations which the *Essays and Reviews* called forth. In 1861 he edited the book called *Aids to Faith*, in which writers like Mansel, Ellicott, Harold Browne, and F. C. Cook replied to the arguments of the other volume. The book had a fair success, though nothing like that of its antagonist, and nothing like that of the more or less orthodox *Lux Mundi*, which now, after an interval of nearly thirty years, once more comes out from Oxford to excite and interest students and theologians. Then early in 1863 came the vacancy at York. Dr. Sumner, the Archbishop of Canterbury, died, and the Archbishop of York—Longley, a man of saintly life, but of little force—was appointed in his place. What followed has been told in many versions; the true one, we believe, is that given in the recently-published *Life of Lord Houghton*. Lord Palmerston desired to give the post to Dr. Waldegrave, of Carlisle, one of the Bishops whom he had appointed after consulting with Lord Shaftesbury; but the Queen herself is said to have interfered, and to have declared that she would have no other than Thomson.

It was only to be expected that so sudden a rise, in the case of a man who had no great family alliances to help him, should give occasion to a good deal of jealousy and many attacks. Oxford was sore at the promotion of a third-class man to the second place in the Church, especially as that promotion was made over the head of her own brilliant Bishop, Samuel Wilberforce. His own Dean (Duncombe) showed what he thought of the appointment by asking Wilberforce, and not Thomson, to preach in the Minster on the first public occasion after the Archbishop's consecration. The world in general asked what the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol had done to justify such an advance after so brief an episcopal apprenticeship; and the High Churchmen throughout the country may be said to have regarded the appointment with dislike.

It must be admitted, however, that during the twenty-eight years of his tenure of the see Dr. Thomson's general success justified those who appointed him. He was not a brilliant man, nor was he a man to inspire strong personal attachment; but he was endowed with a large amount of common sense; he was just and moderate, and in the conduct of the great affairs of his see he showed both strength and tact. There are among his admirers some who go so far as to call him the only considerable Archbishop of York since Wolsey. We will not venture an opinion upon so large a historical statement; but at least it may be said that Thomson was a very different Archbishop from the Longleys, the Musgraves, the Vernon Harcourts, who immediately preceded him. He recognised from the beginning the fact that if the Church of England was to keep up its influence upon modern society it must condescend to employ modern methods. In an age of railways and telegraphs, he saw that it behoved the Church's organisation to be ubiquitous, and its means of intercourse rapid. Thus he was active in his support of diocesan conferences and Church Congresses, and it was a real grief to him that illness prevented him from presiding at the Congress held at Hull last autumn. He was an excellent president, and his natural tact and long experience often enabled him to carry to a peaceful issue meetings that in other hands might have ended in storm. Not the least successful of his public appearances on these occasions were when he presided over meetings of working men, with whom he would discuss on equal terms social, economical, and politico-religious questions.

Archbishop Thomson did not often speak in Parliament on debated questions. But he supported Archbishop Tait's motion for the Commission on the Ecclesiastical Courts, though it has been published that he was at first opposed to it, and returned afterwards to his first opinion when he saw how the Commission was constituted by Mr. Gladstone. And though he signed the general report, he, with a third of the whole body, issued a dissentient report; and it is no secret that he was the author of a very severe criticism of the work of the Commission in the *Edinburgh Review* of January 1884, remarking also on the disastrous effects of the loss of Archbishop Tait before the report was even drafted. He had concurred with Archbishop Tait in the introduction of the Public Worship Regulation Bill in

1874, which, it must be remembered, differed considerably from the unfortunate Act into which it was gradually transformed, and for which he had a right to disclaim all responsibility. That, however, can hardly be said of another Act which, after some years' trial, was absolutely condemned by a Committee of the Commons, but yet remains unrepealed—viz. the Dilapidations Act, 1871, which was introduced by him and Bishop Jackson, and has been called "An Act for the endowment of diocesan surveyors at the expense of the clergy," and said also to have been "invented by two or three Bishops who did not understand what they were doing, and two or three astute surveyors who did." Certainly the Bishops ignored or were ignorant of an Act of Elizabeth which gave them power to make incoming clergy spend their dilapidation money *bond fide* on repairs, and forgot that no legislation will prevent them from dying insolvent after running their houses down to ruin.

Dr. Thomson's last Parliamentary interposition was on the third reading of the Clergy Discipline (Immorality) Bill of 1888. It had been remodelled, but very imperfectly, after second reading, in consequence of an exposure of its numerous defects in these columns, and he did not receive the new Bill at Bishopthorpe till the day when it was to go into Committee. But he came up to the third reading and, though he did not move to reject it, he made a speech which was immediately felt to have killed it. No more was heard of it either in that session or the next, and in 1890 a very different Bill was introduced, but too late to be discussed, which had been settled at Lambeth by a meeting of Bishops and lawyers, and unanimously on all but one minor point, as was stated publicly at the Peterborough diocesan conference in 1890.

In November 1887 the Archbishop of York appeared in person in the Queen's Bench Division to show cause against a rule *nisi* for a *mandamus* to him to admit as a proctor in Convocation a canon of Durham who had been elected by the parochial clergy against a candidate, with a minority of votes, who was one of such clergy, which he had refused to do in accordance with what he believed to be the law of Convocation. But he took the preliminary objection that the High Court has no such jurisdiction, except by the consent of both parties, which had been given in another case in order to obtain an independent determination of the law. Having argued that

objection, he suggested that the Court should first dispose of it, for if they agreed with him there would be no need of the longer argument on the merits of the case. They thereupon called on the counsel for the other side to argue that question, and at the end of their argument intimated that it would probably not be necessary to hear the Archbishop in reply, but they would not give judgment at once. After consideration they gave judgment in his favour; and all the three Judges expressed to their and his friends admiration of his argument, which we know from very good authority he entirely prepared himself, though he was advised by a lawyer to divide it as above and suggest the decision on the jurisdiction question first.

Archbishop Thomson was little pleased with the judgment of the Privy Council on the *Essays and Reviews* case, and he addressed a strong letter to his clergy on the subject. Soon afterwards he officially condemned the Rev. Charles Voysey for heresy; a condemnation that could hardly be avoided when the editor of *Aids to Faith* had to sit in judgment on the author of *The Sling and the Stone*. Perhaps it was owing to the somewhat rigid position which he took up with regard to theological differences that he unfortunately failed of late years to cultivate cordial relations with the Dean and Chapter of York—a failure which, whoever may have been mainly to blame for it, naturally reacted in no very happy way upon the diocese at large. Yet it cannot fairly be said that the Archbishop's purely intellectual interests were narrow. He kept himself, to a remarkable extent, abreast of the scientific movement of the day; he studied economical problems with no little care; and in his own special department the well-known "Speaker's Commentary," of which he is said to have been the projector, and in which he wrote the *Introduction to the Gospels*, is evidence that he did not allow himself to be entirely absorbed in the details of his diocese and his province.

END OF VOL. IV

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INDEX.

	PAGE
ABBEY (E. A.)	13, 40
ABBOT (F. E.)	35
ABBOTT (Rev. E.)	3, 14, 32, 33, 35
ACLAND (Sir H. W.)	24
ADAMS (Sir F. O.)	30
ADDISON	4, 20, 21
AGASSIZ (L.)	1
AINGER (Rev. A.)	5, 17, 21, 35
AINSLIE (A. D.)	14
AIRY (Sir G. B.)	2, 29
AITKEN (Mary C.)	21
AITKEN (Sir W.)	25
ALBEMARLE (Earl of)	1
ALDRICH (T. B.)	14
ALKXANDER (C. F.)	21
ALEXANDER (T.)	9
ALEXANDER (Bishop)	35
ALLBUTT (T. C.)	25
ALLEN (G.)	6
ALLINGHAM (W.)	21
AMIEL (G. F.)	3
ANDERSON (A.)	14
ANDERSON (Dr. McCall)	24
ANDREWS (Dr. Thomas)	28
APPLETON (T. G.)	30
ARCHER-HIND (R. D.)	49
ARNOLD, M. 8, 17, 20, 21, 31, 32, 33	
ARNOLD (Dr. T.)	10
ARNOLD (W. T.)	10
ASHLEY (W. J.)	3
ATKINSON (J. B.)	2
ATKINSON (Rev. J. C.)	1, 41
ATTWELL (H.)	21
AUSTIN (Alfred)	15
AUTENRIETH (Georg)	1
AWDRY (F.)	42
RACON (Francis)	20, 32
BAINES (Rev. E.)	3
BAKER (Sir S. W.)	30, 32, 40, 41
BALCH (Elizabeth)	13
BALDWIN (Prof. J. M.)	1
BALFOUR (F. M.)	1
BALFOUR (J. B.)	6
BALL (V.)	1
BALL (W. Platt)	1

	PAGE
BALI. (W. W. R.)	24
BALLANCE (C. A.)	24
BARKER (Lady)	2, 8, 40
BARNARD (C.)	29
BARNES (W.)	3
BARNETT (E. A.)	8
BARTHOLOMEW (J. G.)	3
BARTLETT (J.)	8
BARWELL (R.)	24
BASTABLE (Prof. C. F.)	30
BASTIAN (H. C.)	6, 24
BATESON (W.)	6
BATH (Marqui. of)	31
BATHER (Archdeacon)	35
BAKER (L.)	3
BESLY (Mrs.)	10
BENHAM (Rev. W.)	51, 22, 35
BENSON (Archbishop)	35, 36
BERLIOZ (H.)	3
BERNHARD (J. H.)	27
BERNARD (H. M.)	6
BERNARD (M.)	13
BERNARD (T. D.)	35
BERNERS (J.)	12
BESANT (W.)	17
BETHUNE-BAKER (J. F.)	35
BETTANY (G. I.)	6
BICKERTON (T. H.)	24
BIGELOW (M. M.)	13
BICÉLAS (D.)	18
BINNIE (Rev. W.)	35
BIRKS (T. R.)	6, 27, 33, 36
BIRNORSON (B.)	18
BLACK (W.)	4
BLACKBURN (E.)	3
BLACKIE (J. S.)	10, 15, 20
BLAKE (J. F.)	3
BLAKE (W.)	3
BLAKISTON (J. R.)	8
BLANFORD (H. F.)	9, 29
BLANFORD (W. T.)	9, 26
BLOMFIELD (R.)	9
BLVTH (A. W.)	12
BOHM-BAWER (Prof.)	30
BOISSEYAN (G. M.)	35

	PAGE
BOLDREWOOD (Rolf).	18
BONAR (J.).	30
BOND (Rev. J.).	33
BOOLE (G.).	28
BOOTH (C.).	31
BOSK (W. P. du)	36
BOUGHTON (G. H.).	10
BOUTMY (E.).	43
BOWEN (H. C.).	27
POWER (F. O.).	6
BRETT (R. B.).	20
BRIDGES (J.).	10
BRIGHT (H. A.).	9
BRIGHT (John).	31
BRIMLEY (G.).	7
BRODIE (Sir B. C.).	7
BRODRIBB (W. J.).	141, 40
BROOKE (Sir J.).	3
BROOKE (S. A.).	13, 14, 21, 35, 36
BROOKS (Bishop).	36
BROWN (A. C.).	28
BROWN (J. A.).	1
BROWN (Dr. James).	4
BROWN (T. E.).	15
BROWNE (J. H. B.).	12
BROWNE (Sir T.).	23
BRUNTON (Dr. T. Lauder).	24, 36
BYRCE (James).	10, 31, 40
BUCHHEIM (C. A.).	21
BUCKLAND (A.).	51, 31
BUCKLEY (A. B.).	10, 11
BUCKNILL (Dr. J. C.).	24
BUCKTON (G. E.).	43
BUNYAN	4, 20, 21, 22
BURGON (J. W.).	15
BURKE (E.).	31
BURN (R.).	1
BURNETT (F. Hodgson).	18
BURNS	15, 21
BURY (J. B.).	10
BUTCHER (Prof. S. H.).	14, 20, 35
BUTLER (A. J.).	39
BUTLER (Rev. G.).	36
BUTLER (Samuel).	15
BUTLER (W. Archer).	26

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
BUTLER (Sir W. F.)	4	CRAIK (Mrs.)	15, 18, 20, 21, 40, 41	EVERETT (J. D.)	28
BUXTON (Mrs. S.)	20	CRAIK (H.)	8, 31	FALCONER (Lanoe)	18
BYRON	21	CRAKE (Lucy)	2, 41	FARRAR (Archdeacon)	6, 33, 36
CAIRNES (J. E.)	30, 31	CRAKE (Walter)	41	FARRER (Sir T. H.)	31
CALDECOTT (R.)	12, 41, 42	CRAVEN (Mrs. D.)	8	FAULKNER (F.)	7
CALDERON	15	CRAWFORD (F. M.)	18	FAWCETT (Prof. H.)	30, 31
CALDERWOOD (Prof. H.)	8, 27, 28	CREIGHTON (Bishop M.)	4, 11	FAWCETT (M. G.)	30, 31
CALVERT (Rev. A.)	33	CRICHTON-BROWNE (Sir J.)	8	FAY (Amy)	25
CAMERON (V. L.)	33	CROSS (J. A.)	32	FEARNLEY (W.)	29
CAMPBELL (J. F.)	40	CROSSLEY (E.)	3	FEARON (D. R.)	8
CAMPBELL (Dr. J. M.)	36	CROSSLEY (H.)	40	FERRER (W.)	29
CAMPBELL (Prof. Lewis)	5, 14	CUMMING (L.)	28	FESSENDEN (C.)	28
CANTILLON	30	CUNNINGHAM (C.)	30	FINCK (H. T.)	1
CAPES (W. W.)	14	CUNNINGHAM (Sir H. S.)	18	FISHER (Rev. O.)	28, 29
CARLES (W. R.)	40	CUNNINGHAM (Rev. J.)	34	FISKE (J.)	6, 10, 27, 31, 36
CARLYLE (T.)	3	CUNNINGHAM (Rev. W.)	34, 35, 36	FISON (L.)	1
CARMARTHEN (Lady)	18	CUNYNGHAME (Sir A. T.)	25	FITCH (J. G.)	8
CARNARVON (Earl of)	39	CURTEIS (Rev. G. H.)	34, 36	FITZGERALD (Caroline)	15
CARNOT (N. L. G.)	29	DAHN (F.)	18	FITZGERALD (Edward)	21
CARPENTER (Bishop)	36	DAKYN (H. G.)	39	FITZMAURICE (Lord E.)	5
CARR (J. C.)	2	DALE (A. W. W.)	34	FLEISHER (E.)	7
CARROLL (Lewis)	28, 41	DALTON (Rev. J. N.)	40	FLEMING (G.)	18
CARTER (R. Brudenell)	24	DANIELL (Alfred)	28	FLOWER (Prof. W. H.)	42
CASSEL (Dr. D.)	10	DANTE	4, 14, 39	FLÜCKIGER (F. A.)	24
CASLEY (G. S.)	15	DAVIES (Rev. J. L.)	33, 35, 36	FORBES (A.)	4, 40
CAZKNOVE (J. G.)	36	DAVIES (W.)	5	FORBES (Prof. G.)	3
CHALMERS (J. B.)	1	DAWKINS (W. H.)	1	FORBES (Rev. G. H.)	36
CHALMERS (M. D.)	31	DAWSON (G. M.)	9	FOSTER (Prof. M.)	6, 29
CHAPMAN (Elizabeth R.)	14	DAWSON (Sir J. W.)	9	FOTHERGILL (Dr. J. M.)	8, 24
CHASSEREAU (Diana)	32	DAY (L. R.)	18	FOWK (Rev. T. W.)	31, 36
CHERRY (R. R.)	13	DAY (R. E.)	28	FOWK (Rev. T. W.)	4, 27
CHEYNE (C. H. H.)	3	DEFOE (D.)	4, 21, 22	FOWKER (W. W.)	26
CHEYNE (T. K.)	33	DEIGHTON (K.)	5, 16	FOX (Dr. Wilson)	24
CHRISTIE (J.)	24	DELAMOTTE (P. H.)	2	FOXWELL (Prof. H. S.)	30
CHRISTIE (W. D.)	21	DELI (K. C.)	12	FRANJ (D.)	10
CHURCH (Prof. A. H.)	6	DE MORGAN (M.)	41	FRANKLAND (P. F.)	1
CHURCH (Rev. A. J.)	4, 32, 40	DE VAKIGNY (H.)	6	FRASER (Bishop)	37
CHURCH (F. J.)	21, 39	DE VEEK (A.)	20	FRASER-TYTLER (C. C.)	15
CHURCH (Dean)	3, 4, 5, 20, 32, 36	DICKY (A. V.)	13, 31	FRAZER (J. G.)	1
CLARK (J. W.)	20, 22	DICKENS (C.)	5, 18, 21	FREDERICK (Mrs.)	8
CLARK (L.)	3	DIGGIE (Rev. J. W.)	16	FREEMAN (Prof. E. A.)	2, 4, 10, 11, 31, 34
CLARK (S.)	4	DILKE (Ashton W.)	39	FRENCH (G. R.)	14
CLARKE (C. B.)	9, 30	DILKE (Sir Charles W.)	25, 31	FRIEDMANN (P.)	3
CLIFFORD (Ed.)	4	DILLWYN (E. A.)	18	FROST (A. B.)	42
CLIFFORD (W. K.)	20, 28	DOBBS (L.)	7	FROUDE (J. A.)	4
CLIFFORD (Mrs. W. K.)	41	DOBSON (A.)	4	FULLERTON (W. M.)	40
CLOUGH (A. H.)	15, 20	DONALDSON (J.)	35	FURNISS (Harry)	41
CODDEN (R.)	31	DONISTHORPE (W.)	31	FURNIVALL (F. J.)	15
COHEN (J. B.)	7	DOWDEN (E.)	4, 14, 16	FVFFR (C. A.)	11
COLENSO (J. W.)	34	DOYLE (Sir F. H.)	15	FVFFR (H. H.)	10
COLERIDGE (S. T.)	15	DOYLE (J. A.)	11	GAIRDNER (J.)	4
COLLIER (Hon. John)	2	DRAKE (B.)	39	GALTON (P.)	1, 29
COLLINS (J. Churton)	20	DRUMMOND (Prof. J.)	36	GAMGEE (Arthur)	29
COLQUHOUN (F. S.)	15	DYDEN	21	GARDNER (Percy)	29
COLVIN (Sidney)	4, 22	DU CANE (E. F.)	31	GARNETT (R.)	19
COMBE (G.)	8	DUFF (Sir M. E. Grant)	21, 31, 40	GARNETT (W.)	3
CONGREVE (Rev. J.)	36	DUNSMUIR (A.)	18	GASKELL (Mrs.)	12
CONWAY (Hugh)	18	DÜTZER (H.)	4, 5	GASKOIN (Mrs. H.)	32
COOK (E. T.)	2	DUPRÉ (A.)	7	GEDDES (W. D.)	14, 40
COOKE (C. Kinloch)	25	DYER (L.)	1	GEF (W. H.)	28, 29
COOKE (J. P.)	7, 30	EADIE (J.)	4, 32, 33	GEIKIE (Sir A.)	9, 10, 29
CORBETT (J.)	4, 18, 41	EASTLAKE (Lady)	35	GENNAIUS (J.)	18
CORFIELD (W. H.)	12	EBERS (G.)	18	GENINS (H. de B.)	10
CORRY (T. H.)	7	EDGEWORTH (Prof. F. Y.)	30	GIBSON (Charles)	4
COTTERILL (J. H.)	9	EDMONDS (Dr. W.)	22	GILCHRIST (A.)	3
COTTON (Bishop)	36	EDWARDS-MOSS (Sir J. E.)	32	GILES (P.)	27
COTTON (C.)	13	ELMER (G. H. T.)	6	GILMAN (N. P.)	30
COTTON (J. S.)	31	ELDERTON (W. A.)	0	GILMORE (Rev. J.)	13
COUES (E.)	43	ELIERTON (Rev. J.)	36	GILSTONE (Dr. J. H.)	7, 8
COURTNEY (W. J.)	4	ELLIOT (Hon. A.)	32	GILSTONE (W. E.)	14
COWELL (G.)	24	ELLIS (T.)	2	GILSTER (E.)	2, 8
COWPER	21, 22	EMERSON (R. W.)	4, 21	GILFRAAT (H.)	3
COX (G. V.)	10	EVANS (S.)	15	GODKIN (G. S.)	5

INDEX.

45

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
GORTHE	4, 15	HOOPER (G.)	4	KNIGHT (W.)	14
GOLDSMITH	4, 12, 15, 21, 22	HOOPER (W. H.)	2	KUENEN (Prof. A.)	32
GODDALL (Prof. G. L.)	6	HOPE (F. J.)	9	KYNASTON (Rev. H.)	37, 40
GOOPFELLOW (J.)	12	HOPKINS (E.)	15	LABBERTON (R. H.)	3
GORDON (General C. G.)	5	HOPPUS (M. A. M.)	19	LAFARGUE (P.)	19
GORDON (Lady Duff)	40	HORACE	14, 21, 39	LAMB	5, 21, 22
GOSCHEN (Rt. Hon. G. J.)	30	HORT (Prof. F. J. A.)	33, 34	LANCiani (Prof. R.)	2
GOSSE (Edmund)	4, 14	HORTON (Hon. S. D.)	30	LANDAUER (J.)	7
GOW (J.)	2	HOSKEN (J. D.)	15	LANDOR	4, 22
GRAHAM (D.)	15	HOVENDEN (R. M.)	40	LANE-POOLE (S.)	22
GRAHAM (J. W.)	18	HOWELL (George)	30	LANFREV (P.)	5
GRAND'HOMME (E.)	8	HOWES (G. B.)	43	LANG (Andrew)	13, 22, 39
GRAY (Prof. Andrew)	28	HOWITT (A. W.)	1	LANG (Prof. Arnold)	42
GRAY (Asa)	6	HOWSON (Very Rev. J. S.)	34	LANGLEY (J. N.)	29
GRAY	4, 15, 22	HOZIER (Col. H. M.)	25	LANKESTER (Prof. Ray)	6, 23
GREEN (J. R.)	9, 11, 12, 21, 22	HUBNER (Haton)	40	LANLETT (T.)	7
GREEN (Mrs. J. K.)	4, 9, 11	HUGHES (T.)	5, 15, 19, 22, 40	LKA (A. S.)	29
GREEN (W. S.)	40	HULL (E.)	2, 10	L'PAF (W.)	14, 30
GREENHILL (W. A.)	21	HULLAH (J.)	2, 21, 26	LEAHY (Sergeant)	32
GREENWOOD (J. E.)	41	HUME (D.)	4	LEE (M.)	19
GRINFELL (Mrs.)	8	HUMPHRY (Prof. Sir G. M.)	30, 42	LEE (S.)	21, 39, 40
GRIFFITHS (W. H.)	24	HUNT (W.)	11	LEPER (A.)	39
GRIMM	41	HUNT (W. M.)	2	LEGG (A. O.)	11, 37
GROVE (Sir G.)	9, 26	HUTTON (R. H.)	4, 22	LEMON (Mark)	21
GULSI (E.)	11	HUXLEY (T.)	4, 22, 29, 30, 34, 43	LEHIBRIDGE (Sir Roper)	11
GURST (M. J.)	11	IDDINGS (J. P.)	10	LEVY (Amy)	19
GUILKMIN (A.)	26, 28	ILLINGWORTH (Rev. J. R.)	37	LEWIS (R.)	13
GUIZOT (F. P. G.)	6	INGRAM (T. D.)	11	LIGHTFOOT (Bp.)	23, 33, 35, 37
GUNTON (G.)	30	IRVING (J.)	10	LIGHTWOOD (J. M.)	13
HALTS (J. W.)	15, 17, 20	IRVING (Washington)	12	LINDSAY (Dr. J. A.)	25
HALLWARD (R. F.)	12	JACKSON (Helen)	19	LOCKYER (J. N.)	3, 7, 29
HAMERTON (P. G.)	2, 12, 22	JACOB (Rev. J. A.)	37	LONG (Prof. O. J.)	23, 28, 29
HAMILTON (Prof. D. J.)	24	JAMES (Henry)	4, 19, 22	LORRY (B.)	28
HAMILTON (J.)	37	JAMES (Rev. H.)	37	LOFTIE (Mrs. W. J.)	2
HANBURY (D.)	6, 24	JAMES (Prof. W.)	28	LONGFELLOW (H. W.)	22
HANNAY (David)	4	JARDINE (Rev. K.)	28	LONGDALE (J.)	21, 39, 40
HARDWICK (Archd. C.)	34, 37	JEAN (Rev. G. E.)	37, 39	LOWE (W. H.)	32, 33
HARDY (A. S.)	18	JEBB (Prof. R. C.)	4, 11, 14	LOWELL (J. R.)	13, 15, 23
HARDY (T.)	18	JELLET (Rev. J. H.)	37	LUBBOCK (Sir J.)	6, 7, 9, 23, 43
HARE (A. W.)	22	JENCK (Prof. Ed.)	31	LUCAS (F.)	15
HARE (J. C.)	27	JENNINGS (A. C.)	11, 32	LUCAS (Joseph)	40
HARPER (Father Thos.)	37	JEPHSON (H.)	31	LUTTON (C.)	7
HARRIS (Rev. G. C.)	37	JEVONS (W. S.)	5, 28, 30, 31, 32	LVALI (Sir Alfred)	4
HARRISON (F.)	4, 6, 22	JEX-BLAKE (Sophia)	8	LYTTE (H. C. M.)	11
HARRISON (Miss J.)	2	JOHNSON (Amy)	29	LYTTELTON (E.)	23
HARTE (Bret)	18	JOHNSON (Samuel)	5, 14	LYTTON (Earl of)	19
HARTIG (Dr. R.)	6	JONES (H. Arthur)	15	MACALISTER (D.)	25
HARTLEY (Prof. W. N.)	7	JONES (Prof. D. E.)	26	MACARTHUR (M.)	11
HARWOOD (G.)	22, 31, 34	JONES (F.)	7	MACAULAY (G. C.)	17, 39
HAYES (A.)	15	KALM	40	MACCOLL (Norman)	15
HEADLAM (W.)	39	KANT	27	MACCOSH (Dr. J.)	27, 28
HEAVSIDE (O.)	29	KARI	42	MACDONALD (G.)	17
HELPS (Sir A.)	20	KAVANAGH (Rt. Hon. A. M.)	5	MACDONELL (J.)	30, 31
HEMPER (Dr. W.)	7	KAY (Rev. W.)	33	MACRAK (J. W.)	40
HERKOMER (H.)	2	KEARY (Annie)	11, 19, 41	MACLAGAN (Dr. T.)	25
HERODOTUS	39	KEARY (Eliza)	41	MACLAREN (Rev. Alex.)	37
HERRICK	21	KRATS	4, 21, 22	MACLAREN (Archibald)	42
HERTEL (Dr.)	9	KELLNER (Dr. L.)	27	MACLEAN (W. C.)	25
HILL (F. Davenport)	31	KELLOGG (Rev. S. H.)	37	MACLEAN (Rev. Dr.)	32, 34, 35
HILL (O.)	31, 32	KELVIN (Lord)	26, 28, 40	M'LENNAN (J. F.)	1
HIGNES (A. H.)	25	KEMPE (A. B.)	28	M'LENNAN (Malcolm)	19
HOBART (Lord)	25	KENNEDY (Prof. A. B. W.)	9	MACMILLAN (Rev. H.)	23, 37, 40
HOBDAV (E.)	9	KENNEDY (B. H.)	39	MACMILLAN (Michael)	5, 16
HODGSON (Rev. J. T.)	5	KENNEDY (P.)	19	MACMARA (C.)	25
HOFFDING (Prof. H.)	8	KEVNES (J. N.)	28, 30	MACQUOID (K. S.)	19
HOFFMANN (A. W.)	7	KIEPERT (H.)	9	MADOC (F.)	19
HOLE (Rev. C.)	11	KILLEN (W. D.)	34	MAGUIRE (J. F.)	42
HOLIDAY (Henry)	41	KINGSLEY (Charles)	5, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 22, 26, 35, 40, 41	MAHAFFY (Prof. J. P.)	2, 11, 14, 23, 27, 37, 40
HOLLAND (T. E.)	13, 31	KINGSLEY (Henry)	21, 40	MAITLAND (F. W.)	13, 31
HOLLWAY-CALTHROP (H.)	41	KIPLING (L. L.)	40	MALET (L.)	19
HOLMES (O. W. junr.)	13	KIPLING (Rudyard)	19	MALORY (Sir T.)	21
HOMER	19	KIRKPATRICK (Prof.)	37	MANSFIELD (C. B.)	7
HOOKER (Sir J. D.)	40	KLEIN (Dr. E.)	6, 24, 26	MARKHAM (C. R.)	4
HOOLE (C. H.)	33				

PAGE		PAGE		PAGE	
MARRIOTT (J. A. R.)	6	OLIPHANT (Mrs. M. O. W.)	4, 11, 14, 20, 21, 42	REID (J. S.)	39
MARSHALL (Prof. A.)	30	OLIVER (Prof. Dr.)	7	REMSSEN (I.)	39
MARTEL (C.)	25	OLIVER (Capt. S. P.)	40	RENDALL (Rev. F.)	34, 38
MARTIN (Frances)	3, 42	OMAN (C. W.)	4	RENDU (M. le C.)	10
MARTIN (Frederick)	30	OSTWALD (Prof.)	7	REYNOLDS (H. R.)	38
MARTIN (H. N.)	43	OTTÉ (E. C.)	11	REYNOLDS (J. R.)	25
MARTINEAU (H.)	0	PAGE (T. E.)	33	REYNOLDS (O.)	12
MARTINEAU (J.)	5	PALGRAVE (Sir F.)	11	RHODES (J. F.)	12
MASSON (D.)	5, 16, 21, 23, 27	PALGRAVE (F. T.)	11	RICHARDSON (B. W.)	12, 25
MASSON (G.)	8, 21	2, 16, 17, 21, 22, 35, 42		RICHEY (A. G.)	13
MASSON (R. O.)	17	PALGRAVE (R. F. D.)	31	RITCHIE (A.)	5
MATURIN (Rev. W.)	37	PALGRAVE (R. H. Inglis)	30	ROBINSON (Preb. H. G.)	38
MAUDSLEY (Dr. H.)	28	PALGRAVE (W. G.)	16, 31, 40	ROBINSON (J. L.)	26
MAURICE (F.)	9, 23, 27, 32, 35, 37	PALMER (Lady S.)	20	ROBINSON (Matthew)	5
MAURICE (Col. F.)	5, 25, 31	PARKER (T. J.)	6, 42	ROCHESTER (Bishop of)	5
MAX MÜLLER (F.)	27	PARKER (W. N.)	42	ROCKSTRO (W. S.)	5
MAWER (A. M.)	20	PARKIN (G. R.)	31	ROGERS (J. E. T.)	12, 31
MAVOR (J. B.)	34	PARKINSON (S.)	29	ROMANES (G. J.)	6
MAVOR (Prof. J. E. B.)	3, 5	PARKMAN (F.)	11	ROSCOE (Sir H. E.)	7, 8
MAZINI (L.)	42	PARRY (G.)	20	ROSCOE (W. C.)	16
M'CORMICK (W. S.)	24	PARSONS (Alfred)	13	ROSBERRY (Earl of)	4
MELDOIA (Prof. R.)	7, 28, 29	PASTEUR (L.)	7	ROSNBUSH (H.)	10
MENDENHALL (T. C.)	29	PATER (W. H.)	2, 20, 23	ROSS (P.)	20
MERCIEK (Dr. C.)	25	PAIKSON (J.)	13	ROSETTI (C. G.)	16, 42
MERCUR (Prof. J.)	25	PATMORE (Coventry)	21, 42	ROUTLEDGE (J.)	31
MEREDITH (G.)	16	PATTERSON (J. C.)	5	ROWE (F. J.)	17
MEREDITH (L. A.)	13	PATTISON (Mark)	4, 5, 38	ROW (John)	8
MAYER (E. von)	7	PAYNE (E. J.)	11, 31	RÜCKER (Prof. A. W.)	8
MICHELET (M.)	11	PEABODY (C. H.)	9, 29	RUMFORD (Count)	23
MILL (H. K.)	9	PAEL (E.)	16	RUSHBROOKE (W. G.)	33
MILLER (R. K.)	3	PRICE (J.)	27	RUSSALL (Dean)	38
MILLIGAN (Rev. W.)	34, 37	PELLISSIER (E.)	27	RUSSELL (Sir Charles)	31
MILTON	5, 14, 16, 21	PENKELL (J.)	2	RUSSELL (W. Clark)	4, 20
MINTO (Prof. W.)	4, 19	PENNINGTON (R.)	10	RYLAND (F.)	14
MITFORD (A. B.)	19	PENROSE (F. C.)	1, 3	RYLE (Prof. H. E.)	39, 38
MIVART (St. George)	30	PEKINS (J. B.)	11	ST. JOHNSTON (A.)	20, 42, 42
MIXTER (W. G.)	7	PERRY (Prof. J.)	29	SADLER (H.)	3
MOHAMMAD	22	PETTIGREW (J. B.)	7, 30, 42	SAINTSBURY (G.)	4, 14
MOLSWORTH (Mrs.)	42	PHILLIMORE (J. G.)	13	SAIMON (Rev. G.)	38
MOLLOY (G.)	28	PHILLIPS (J. A.)	25	SANFORD (Bishop)	38
MONAHAN (J. H.)	13	PHILLIPS (W. C.)	2	SANFORD (M. E.)	5
MONTELIUS (O.)	1	PICKTON (J. A.)	23	SANDYS (J. E.)	12
MOORE (C. H.)	2	PIFFARD (H. G.)	25	SAVE (A. H.)	41
MOORHOUSE (Bishop)	37	PIKE (W.)	41	SCHAFF (P.)	33
MORISON (J. C.)	3, 4	PLATO	21, 22, 39	SCHLIERMANN (Dr.)	7
MORLEY (John)	3, 4, 17, 23	PLUMPTRE (Dean)	38	SCHORLEMPFER (C.)	7
MORRIS (Mowbray)	4	POLLARD (A. W.)	40	SCOTT (D. H.)	6
MORRIS (R.)	21, 27	POLLOCK (Sir Fk. and Bart.)	5	SCOTT (Sir W.)	16, 21
MORSHAD (E. D. A.)	39	POLLOCK (Sir F., Bart.)	13, 23, 31	SCRATCHLEY (Sir Peter)	25
MOULTON (L. C.)	16	POLLOCK (Lady)	2	SCUDDER (S. H.)	43
MUDIE (C. E.)	16	POLLOCK (W. H.)	2	SEATON (Dr. E. C.)	25
MUIR (M. M. P.)	7	POOLE (M. E.)	23	SEELER (J. R.)	12
MÜLLER (H.)	7	POOLE (R. L.)	12	SEILER (Dr. Carl)	25, 30
MULLINGER (J. B.)	11	POPE	4, 21	SELBORNE (Earl of)	13, 21, 34, 35
MURPHY (J. J.)	28	POSTE (E.)	29, 31	SELLERS (E.)	2
MURRAY (D. Christie)	19, 20	POTTER (L.)	23	SERVIC (J.)	35, 37
MURRAY (E. C. G.)	40	POTTER (R.)	23	SEWELL (E. M.)	12
MYERS (E.)	16, 39	PRKSTON (T.)	29	SHADWELL (C. L.)	39
MYERS (F. W. H.)	4, 16, 23	PRICE (L. L. F. R.)	30	SHARP (J. C.)	4, 16
MYLNE (Bishop)	37	PRICKARD (A. O.)	23	SHAKESPEARE	14, 16, 21, 22
NADAI (E. S.)	23	PRINCE ALBERT VICTOR	40	SHANN (G.)	9, 29
NETTLESHIP (H.)	14	PRINCE GEORGE	40	SHAPP (W.)	5
NEWCASTLE (Duke and Duchess)	22	PROCTER (F.)	34	SHELLEY	16, 21
NEWCOMB (S.)	3	PROPERT (J. L.)	2	SHERRIN (W. N.)	38
NEWTON (Sir C. T.)	2	RADCLIFFE (C. B.)	3	SHORTHOUSE (J. H.)	20
NICHOL (J.)	4, 14	RAMSAY (W.)	7	SHORTLAND (Admiral)	26
NOEL (Lady A.)	20	RANSOME (C.)	14	STUCHHARDT (Carl)	2
NORDENSKIÖLD (A. E.)	40	RATHBONE (W.)	8	STUCKBURGH (E. S.)	12, 39
NORGATE (Kate)	11	RAWLINS (W. G.)	13	THUPELDT (R. W.)	42
NORRIS (W. E.)	20	RAWNSLEY (H. D.)	16	THURSON (Dr. F.)	25
NORTON (Charles Eliot)	3, 39	RAY (P. K.)	28	THURGOOD (Prof. H.)	27, 30, 31
NORTON (Hon. Mrs.)	16, 20	RAYLEIGH (Lord)	29	THURME (J.)	9, 11
OLIPHANT (T. L. K.)	23, 27	REICHEL (Bishop)	38	THURSON (Rev. W.)	34
				THURSTON (W. W.)	14

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
SKRINE (J. H.).	5	TENNYSON (Hallam).	13, 42	WARD (W.).	5, 34
SLADE (J. H.).	9	THEODOLI (Marchesa).	20	WARINGTON (G.).	30
SLOMAN (Rev. A.).	33	THOMPSON (D'A. V.).	7	WATERS (C. A.).	38
SMART (W.).	30	THOMPSON (E.).	11	WATERTON (Charles).	26, 41
SMALLEY (G. W.).	23	THOMPSON (H. M.).	30	WATSON (E.).	5
SMETHAM (J. and S.).	5	THOMPSON (S. P.).	29	WATSON (R. S.).	41
SMITH (A.).	21	THOMSON (A. W.).	9	WATSON (W.).	17, 22
SMITH (C. B.).	16	THOMSON (Sir C. W.).	43	WEBB (W. T.).	17
SMITH (Goldwin).	4, 6, 32, 41	THOMSON (Hugh).	12	WEBSTER (Mrs. A.).	42
SMITH (H.).	16	THORNE (Dr. Thorne).	25	WELBY-GREGORY (Lady).	35
SMITH (J.).	7	THORNTON (J.).	6	WELLDON (Rev. J. E. C.).	39
SMITH (Rev. T.).	38	THORNTON (W. T.).	27, 32, 39	WESTCOTT (Bp.).	32, 33, 34, 35, 39
SMITH (W. G.).	7	THORPE (T. E.).	8	WESTERMARK (E.).	1
SMITH (W. S.).	38	THRING (E.).	9, 21	WETHERELL (J.).	27
SOMERVILLE (Prof. W.).	6	THURPP (J. F.).	32	WHEELER (J. T.).	12
SOUTHEY.	5	THUDICHUM (J. L. W.).	7	WHARFELL (W.).	5
SPENDER (J. K.).	25	THUNSFIELD (J. R.).	4	WHITE (Gilbert).	26
SPENSER.	21	TODHUNTER (L.).	5	WHITE (Dr. W. Hale).	25
SPOTISWOODE (W.).	29	TORRENS (W. M.).	5	WHITE (W.).	29
STANLEY (Dean).	38	TOURGÉNIEF (I. S.).	20	WHITHAM (J. M.).	9
STANLEY (Hon. Maude).	32	TOUT (I. F.).	4, 12	WHITNEY (W. D.).	8
STATHAM (R.).	32	TOZER (H. F.).	9	WHITTIER (J. G.).	17, 23
STEBBING (W.).	4	TRAILL (H. D.).	4, 31	WICKHAM (Rev. E. C.).	39
STEPHEN (C. E.).	8	TRENCH (Capt. F.).	32	WICKS (F. H.).	30, 32
STEPHEN (H.).	13	TRENCH (Archbishop).	38	WIDERSHEIM (R.).	42
STEPHEN (Sir J. F.).	12, 13, 23	TREVELYAN (Sir G. O.).	12	WILBRAHAM (F. M.).	35
STEPHEN (J. K.).	13	TRIBE (A.).	7	WILKINS (Prof. A. S.).	2, 14, 39
STEPHEN (L.).	4	TRISTRAM (W. O.).	13	WILKINSON (S.).	25
STEPHENS (J. B.).	16	TROILLOPE (A.).	4	WILLIAMS (G. H.).	10
STEVENSON (J. J.).	2	TRUMAN (J.).	17	WILLIAMS (Montagu).	5
STEWART (A.).	42	TUCKER (T. G.).	39	WILLIAMS (S. E.).	13
STEWART (Balfour).	28, 29, 38	TULLOCH (Principal).	38	WILLOUGHBY (F.).	42
STEWART (S. A.).	7	TURNER (C. Tennyson).	17	WILLS (W. G.).	17
STOKES (Sir G. G.).	29	TURNER (G.).	1	WILSON (A. J.).	31
STORY (R. H.).	4	TURNER (H. H.).	29	WILSON (Sir C.).	4
STONE (W. H.).	29	TURNER (J. M. W.).	13	WILSON (Sir D.).	1, 4, 14
STRACHEY (Sir E.).	21	TYLOR (E. B.).	1	WILSON (Dr. G.).	4, 5, 23
STRACHEY (Gen. R.).	9	TYRWHITT (R. St. J.).	2, 17	WILSON (Archdeacon).	39
STRANGFORD (Viscountess).	41	VAUGHAN (C. J.).	33, 34, 35, 38	WILSON (Mary).	19
STRATTELL (A.).	16	VAUGHAN (Rev. D. J.).	21, 38	WINGATE (Major F. R.).	25
STURBS (Rev. C. W.).	38	VAUGHAN (Rev. E. T.).	38	WINKWORTH (C.).	6
STUBBS (Bishop).	34	VAUGHAN (Rev. R.).	38	WOLSELEY (Gen. Viscount).	25
SUTHERLAND (A.).	9	VELDY (M.).	20	WOOD (A.).	17
SYMONDS (J. A.).	4	VENN (Rev. J.).	28, 38	WOOD (Rev. E. G.).	39
SYMONDS (Mrs. J. A.).	5	VERNON (Hon. W. W.).	14	WOODS (Rev. F. H.).	1
SYMONS (A.).	16	VERMALL (A. W.).	14, 39	WOODS (Miss M. A.).	18, 35
TAIT (Archbishop).	38	VERRALL (Mrs.).	2	WOODWARD (C. M.).	9
TAIT (C. W. A.).	12	VICTOR (H.).	20	WOOLNER (T.).	17
TAIT (Prof. P. G.).	28, 29	WAIN (Louis).	42	WORDSWORTH.	5, 14, 17, 21
TANNER (H.).	1	WALDSTEIN (C.).	2	WORTHLEY (Rev. A.).	33
TAVERNER (J. B.).	41	WALKER (Prof. F. A.).	30	WRIGHT (C. E. G.).	8
TAYLOR (Franklin).	26	WALKER (Jas.).	7	WRIGHT (J.).	22
TAYLOR (Isaac).	27, 38	WALLACE (A. R.).	6, 26, 30	WRIGHT (L.).	29
TAYLOR (Sedley).	26, 29	WALLACE (Sir D. M.).	32	WRIGHT (W. A.).	8, 16, 21, 27, 34
TEGETMEIER (W. B.).	8	WALPOLE (S.).	31	WURTZ (Ad.).	8
TEMPLE (Bishop).	38	WALTON (I.).	13	WYATT (Sir M. D.).	2
TEMPLE (Sir R.).	4	WARD (A. W.).	4, 14, 21	YONGE (C. M.).	5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 21, 22, 23, 27, 32, 42
TENNANT (Dorothy).	41	WARD (H. M.).	7	YOUNG (E. W.).	9
TENNIEL.	41	WARD (S.).	17	ZIEGLER (Dr. E.).	25
TENNYSON.	14, 17, 22	WARD (T. H.).	17		
TENNYSON (Frederick).	17	WARD (Mrs. T. H.).	20, 42		

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